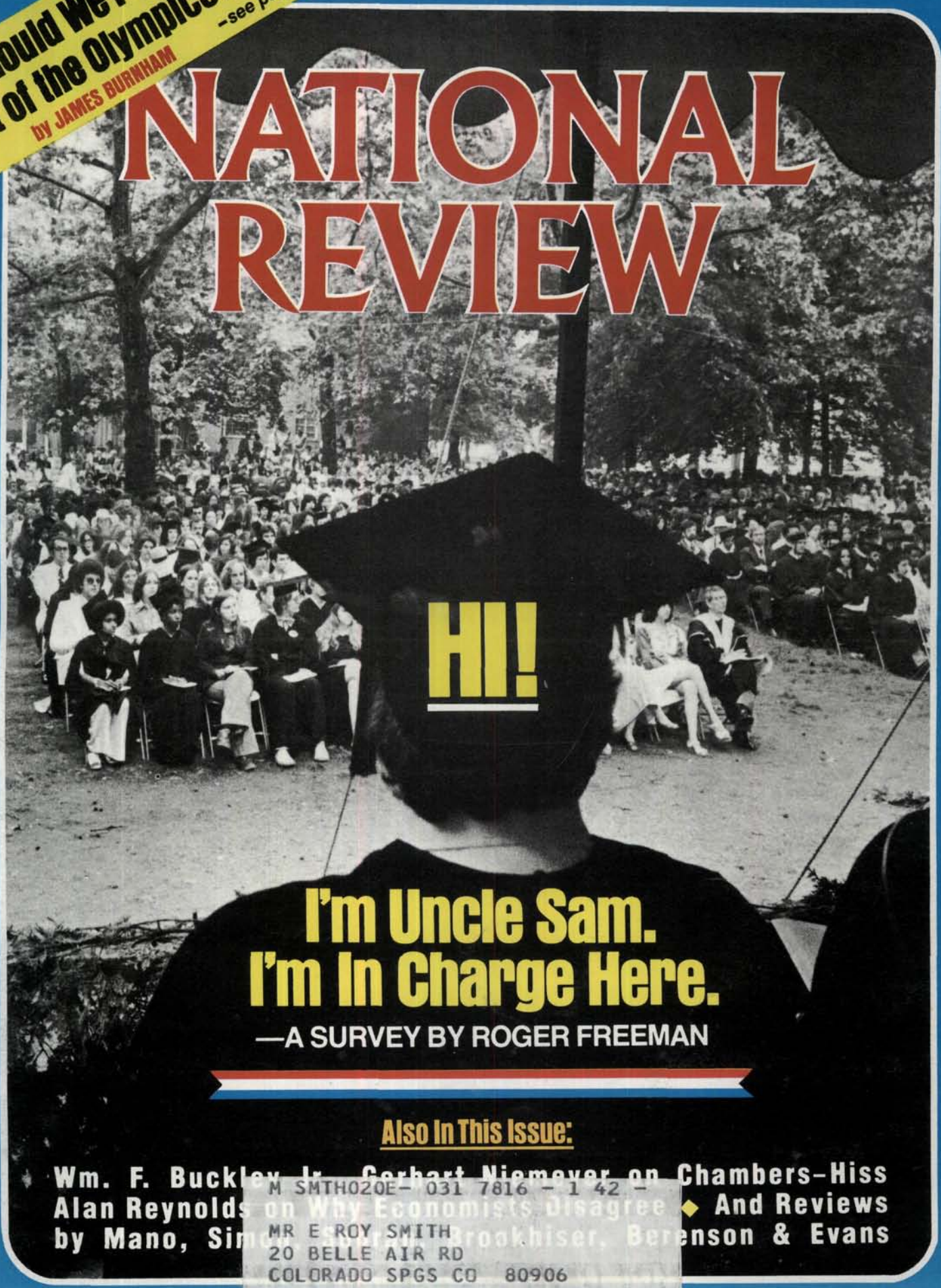
PRICE $1.00

AUGUST 4, 1978

Should We Pull Out of the Olympics?
by JAMES BURNHAM
–see page 943

NATIONAL REVIEW



HI!

I'm Uncle Sam. I'm In Charge Here.

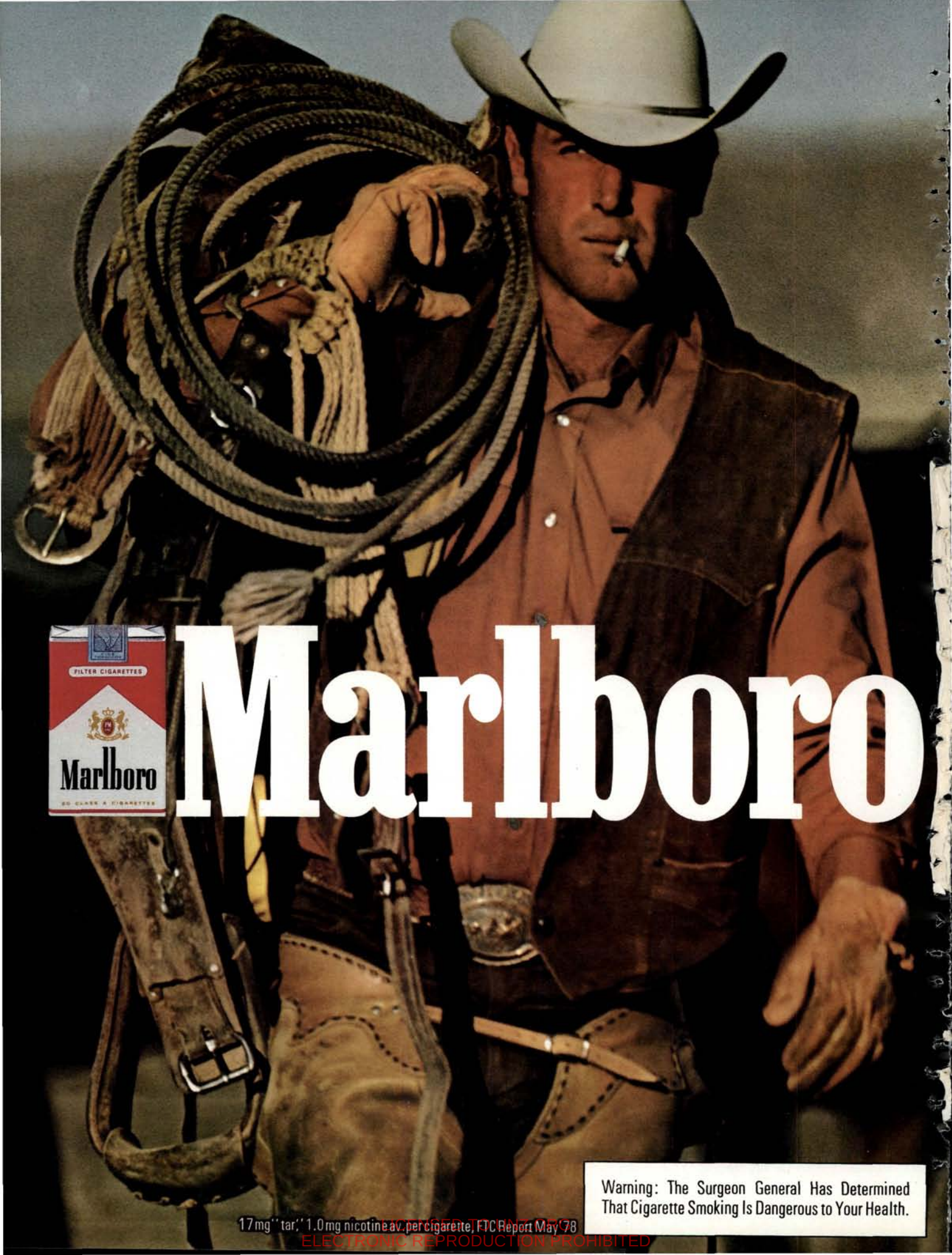
—A SURVEY BY ROGER FREEMAN

Also In This Issue:

Wm. F. Buckley Jr. Gerhart Niemeyer on Chambers–Hiss
Alan Reynolds on Why Economists Disagree ◆ And Reviews
by Mano, Simon, Brookhiser, Berenson & Evans

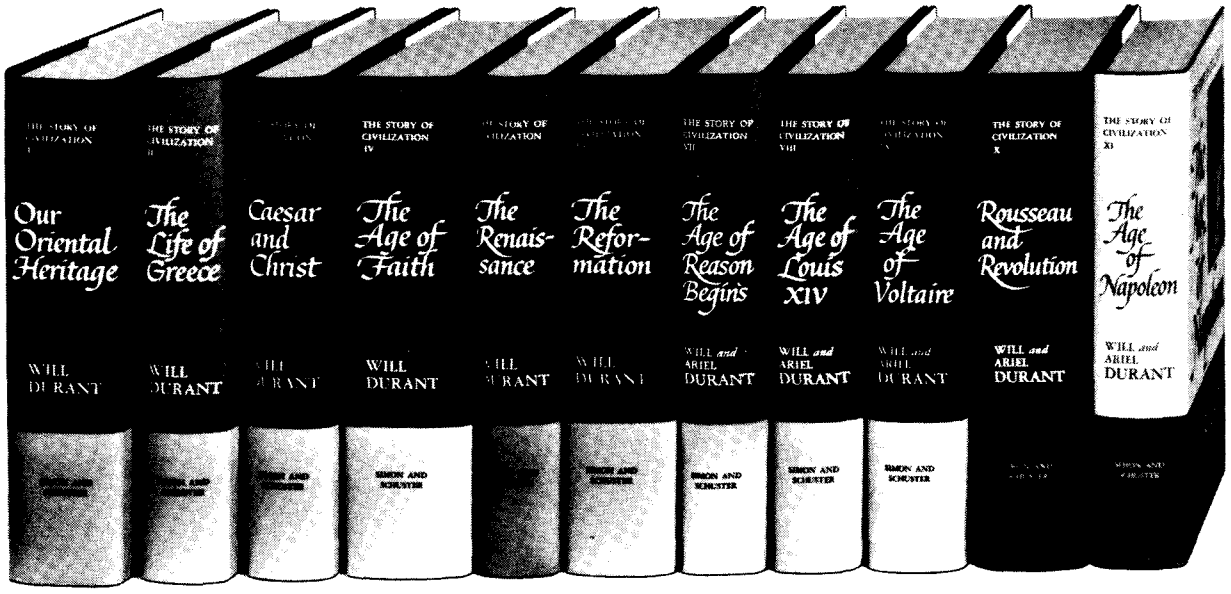
M SMTH020E- 031 7816 - 1 42 -
MR E ROY SMITH
20 BELLE AIR RD
COLORADO SPGS CO 80906

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


FILTER CIGARETTES
Marlboro
Marlboro
17 mg "tar," 1.0 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report May '78
Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rediscover the past in The Story of Civilization.

"Our century has produced no more successful attempt to narrate the whole common story of mankind"—*Clifton Fadiman*



I. Our Oriental Heritage. Ancient Egypt and the Near East. The Far East, early to modern times.

II. The Life of Greece. Explores all facets of Greek life from prehistoric times to the Roman conquest.

III. Caesar and Christ. The rise of Rome and Christianity and the collapse of classic civilization.

IV. The Age of Faith. Christian, Islamic and Judaic civilizations, 325 to 1300, including the Crusades.

V. The Renaissance. Italy's golden age, 1304 to 1576. A turbulent world of intrigue and great art.

VI. The Reformation. Europe's religious conflicts, from two centuries before Luther to Calvin.

VII. The Age of Reason Begins. Europe, 1558-1646. The age of Shakespeare, Rembrandt, Galileo.

VIII. The Age of Louis XIV. The brilliant era of the "Sun King," Milton, Cromwell, Peter the Great.

IX. The Age of Voltaire. Europe from 1715 to 1756. The world of Frederick the Great, Wesley, Bach.

X. Rousseau and Revolution. Europe from the Seven Years' War to the storming of the Bastille.

XI. The Age of Napoleon. France's domination of European history, from the fevers of the French Revolution to Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo. A history of European civilization from 1789 to 1815.

Will and Ariel Durant's masterpiece is now offered as your first benefit of membership in the Book-of-the-Month Club.

The complete 11-volume set: **$20**
Publisher's price: **$248.55**

You simply agree to buy four books within a year.

Since the first volume of this remarkable work appeared forty-three years ago, it has been hailed both as a great literary achievement and an epic history of mankind. To read it is to enjoy the past made live with excitement and power. To own it is to have at your fingertips a reference work of undisputed authority. It is hard to imagine a more valuable set of books for your home library.

Beginning with this special opportunity to own *The Story of Civilization* at the extraordinary saving of more than 85% (including postage and handling charges), you'll enjoy continuing benefits on the best and most important books published today. As a Club member, you always get bookstore quality at book-club savings. Every book is identical in size, paper, type and binding to those sold in stores. You never settle for the altered or inferior editions that some book clubs send their members. And when you remain a member after the short trial period, each book you buy earns Book-Dividend® credits. These entitle you to enormous savings on current art books, reference sets, literary classics, records, and children's books. Join now, and shop for books the civilized way—in America's Bookstore.

Facts About Membership. You receive the *Book-of-the-Month Club News*,® a literary magazine, 15 times a year (about every 3½ weeks). Each issue reviews a *Main Selection* plus scores of Alternates. If you want the *Main Selection* do nothing. It will be shipped to you automatically. If you want one or more Alternate books—or no book at all—indicate your decision on the reply form always enclosed and return it by the date specified. *Return Privilege:* If the *News* is delayed and you receive the *Main Selection* without having had 10 days to notify us, you may return it for credit at our expense. *Cancellations:* Your membership is cancelable at any time after you have bought 4 additional books. Simply notify Book-of-the-Month Club.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB®
AMERICA'S BOOKSTORE®
Since 1926, 330 million books in 15 million homes.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, INC.
Camp Hill, Pennsylvania 17012

Please enroll me as a member of Book-of-the-Month Club and send me THE STORY OF CIVILIZATION, billing me $20, plus postage and handling charges, for all eleven volumes. I agree to buy 4 books during the coming year. A postage and handling charge is added to each shipment.

8-A123-8-1

Mr.
Mrs. 17
Miss. (Please print plainly)

Address ..... Apt. .....

City .....

State ..... Zip .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Color Palace® II.

Just in case the purple in the tower isn't your sort of thing, we created 49 other colors for you to choose from. In silky soft Anso® nylon plush. Carpeting so good it's backed up by the world's strongest wear guarantee.

Color Palace II gives you a shimmering spectrum of easy-to-coordinate colors. It's easy to care for, too. The remarkable Anso fiber stays clean longer. And it's extra durable, resists wear even in heavily used areas. Luxurious to look at and luxurious underfoot, Color Palace II is fit for a king. Or a queen. Or you. See it at your dealers now.

MILLIKEN
CARPETS
The good life at your feet.
LaGrange, Ga. 30240.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

AUGUST 4, 1978
VOL. XXX, No. 31
ISSN: 0028-0038

RUSHER
Page 946

FREEMAN
Page 947

YARNADO
Page 958

VREE
Page 962

BERENSON
Page 972

NIEMEYER
Page 964

ARTICLES & COLUMNS

943 **Tit for Tat**
An open letter to Jimmy Carter, on the right and practicable ways of getting tough.
James Burnham

944 **Why Economists Disagree**
They forecast in circles, that's why, using models whose components aren't logically independent of each other. Clear? A few illustrations may help. *Alan Reynolds*

946 **The True Absurdity**
A reply to James Burnham on normalizing relations with Peking. *William A. Rusher*

947 **Uncle Sam's Heavy Hand in Education**
He's in there, all right, with plenty to say about athletic programs (and locker rooms), father-son banquets, racial and Spanish-surname distribution, children's choirs, you name it. The wonder of it is that so little in benefits has been able to produce so much in leverage: "More shrewdly than any stock manipulator, Uncle Sam has parlayed a small investment into an immense gain in power." *Roger A. Freeman*

958 **Visit to Spyworld**
The Bobbsey Family goes to Langley.
S. L. Varnado

959 **Labor's Free Ride**
When organized labor violates campaign spending limits, such penalties as are now and then imposed amount to minor overhead; when it extorts money from workers, there is hardly a peep of indignation.
Ralph de Toledano

960 **God and Man in Kiev**
The official Church consists of a well-fed Exarch and a few tired *babushkas*. But then there is . . . a wink.
T. Coleman Andrews III & Ronald F. Docksai

962 **Socialist/Traditionalist**
Daniel Bell, McGovernite and "progressive," is nonetheless a cultural conservative who expects a resurgence of the sacred.
Dale Vree

963 **Vetoing Bureaucrats**
How Congress is trying to cope with public "servants." *M. Stanton Evans*

BOOKS ARTS & MANNERS

964 **Rewitness**
The re-publication of *Witness* reveals Whittaker Chambers as America's counterpart of Solzhenitsyn—a flawed writer, but an excellent one; a flawed man, but a heroic one. *Gerhart Niemeyer*

967 **Against Folk-Constitutionalism**
Joseph Tussman has written a witty, profound, and altogether civilized book on the state, the mind, and free speech.
M. J. Sobran Jr.

968 **Aide to Fate**
Major General Vernon A. Walters offers an eventful memoir of his long service behind the scenes of recent history.
Richard Brookhiser

969 **A Centaur Thing**
Joy Williams' second novel, *The Changeling*, shows her rare talent less successfully than her first. *D. Keith Mano*

970 **Unfocused Comedy**
Heaven Can Wait never quite manages to assimilate its initial gimmick, while *The Cheap Detective* is too full of them.
John Simon

972 **Up from Vesuvius**
From Pompeii, with grace. *Ruth Berenson*

926 **Letters**
930 **For the Record**
933 **The Week**
952 **hel**
974 **Dark Horses**
978 **On the Right**
980 **Trans-O-Gram**

Cover photo by Jan Lukacs

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except for one issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 50 Emmett St., Bristol, Conn. Second-class postage paid at Bristol, Conn.

© National Review, Inc., 1978.

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile.

RATES: *$34.00 a year ($19.00 for the 48-page issues, and $15.00 for 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). Add $2.00 for Canada, $4.00 for other foreign subscriptions, per year. The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better a stamped, self-addressed envelope, is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the view of the editors.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor*

William A. Rusher *Publisher*

James P. McFadden *Associate Publisher*

Editors
James Burnham / Jeffrey Hart
M. J. Sobran Jr.

Priscilla L. Buckley *Managing Editor*

Executive Editors
Linda Bridges *Assistant Managing Editor*
Kevin Lynch *(Articles)*
Chilton Williamson Jr.
(Books, Arts, & Manners)

Contributing Editors
Ruth Berenson
John R. Coyne Jr.
W. H. von Dreele
M. Stanton Evans
Ernest van den Haag
Norman B. Hannah / Nika Hazelton
James Jackson Kilpatrick
D. Keith Mano / Malachi B. Martin
Alan Reynolds
William F. Rickenbacker
Francis Russell / John Simon

Associates
Richard Brookhiser
Paul Gigot / Carol B. Learsy
Jane Buckley Smith
Jeanne Wacker Sobran
Timothy J. Wheeler

Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*

Robin Wu *Research Director*

James W. O'Bryan *Art Director*

Anna Lieber *Production Editor*

John K. Syze *Circulation Manager*

Advertising Director
Robert F. Sennott Jr.

Assistant Publisher
Edward A. Capano

Contributors
Aram Bakshian Jr.
David Brudnoy / John Chamberlain
Jack Chatfield / Samuel T. Cohen
Miles Copeland
Neal Freeman / Victor Gold
John Greenway / Henry Hazlitt
John Kiley / Nicholas King
Suzanne La Follette / Mary Martínez
Forrest McDonald
Vincent Miller / Ferdinand Mount
George Nash / Gerhart Niemeyer
Daniel Oliver
Morrie Ryskind / William S. Schlamm
Ralph de Toledano
S. L. Varnado
Charles Wallen Jr.
George F. Will / Peter P. Witonski
Edwin M. Yoder Jr.

Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Taki Theodoracopulos *Athens*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Nena Ossa *Santiago*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*

✻

Letters

The Court and How to Oppose It

Lino Graglia has left a herdful of slaughtered sacred cows strewn across the landscape ["Judicial Imperialism," July 21]. He calmly makes statements that just shatter our conceptions about what the Supreme Court has been doing over the past two decades, statements like: "The irrelevance of the Constitution to constitutional law can be easily demonstrated." ". . . because in our legal theory judges are not authorized to announce their policy views, but are required to claim a constitutional basis for their decisions invalidating the acts of other officials—a basis that typically does not in fact exist —*the practice of judicial review is inherently inconsistent with candor.*" ". . . As a practical matter, however, such a holding was impossible—even the power of the Supreme Court is, of course, not absolute. After many years of emphatic insistence that racial discrimination by government is constitutionally prohibited, the Court could hardly announce all of a sudden that racial discrimination *is sometimes constitutionally* required."

However, I found the article to be lacking in one respect. Mr. Graglia shows us exactly how the Supreme Court has made itself the chief and final legislator in the land; by implication, he makes it clear that much of conservatives' opposition to the Court has been mis-aimed, directing itself at results and not at causes. What he left out was: *what can we do* about it? He should be encouraged to take up that point next.

Springfield, Mass. OLGA BOLOTOV

The Bakke Rule

I had no idea you have such influence in high places. While I enjoyed Professor Shanker's little jape about a future amendment to overturn the *Bakke* decision ["On the Right," June 9], I was indeed surprised to find that the Supreme Court immediately grasped at the proposal and with a tiny twist fashioned it into their own decision. Thus: No State shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws, and that includes white persons named Bakke, but not necessarily any other white persons.

WILLIAM G. WHITE, MD
Franklin Park, Ill.

TVA versus the Snail Darter

I wish NATIONAL REVIEW would stop attacking the snail darter decision ["The Week," July 7] and get somebody down here to study its true importance. The people of east Tennessee couldn't care less about the darter, but they do care about beautiful farmland being flooded for no economic or social justification. The snail darter was a weapon to stop the dam and, in the process, show the people of Tennessee that TVA was not the great benefactor that it has always been pictured. (Goldwater lost Tennessee for his attacks on the Agency while he carried the rest of the South.) NATIONAL REVIEW of all magazines should applaud anything that would discredit the working of this government power monopoly.

Maryville, Tenn. STEPHEN T. KOELLA

In the Lions' Den

Mr. William P. Melden ["Letters," July 7] apparently did not give a careful reading to Malachi Martin's column "The Truth and Billy Graham." Mr. Martin was not criticizing the evangelist for "his failure to denounce the Communist regime in Hungary" but rather for his painting a grossly inaccurate picture of life in that country. Mr. Graham did not remain silent on the issue, as Mr. Melden pictures St. Paul. In fact, it was as if St. Paul had gone about praising the Romans, pointing out how healthy and well-fed their lions were.

KENNETH L. DONAJKOWSKI
Sherman, Tex.

People Problems

Now I have seen everything: Clare Boothe Luce, articulate and thoughtful polemicist, indulging in dire prophecy and dubious solution [July 7].

1. Mrs. Luce's Malthusian premises, though they make fascinating reading, are highly debatable. There have been doomsayers ever since the first eclipse, yet we are still here, still advancing, as prosperous as ever. Futurologist Roger Kahn and others have taken the same statistics as Mrs. Luce and reached opposite conclusions: e.g., that man's technological ingenuity will save us yet, if only the "Limits to Growth" crowd doesn't employ government coercion to shackle our enterprising spirit.

2. Even if one grants Mrs. Luce's premises, her solution may be worse than the problem. No doubt George Gilder would have something to say about the social consequences of all those men competing, caveman-like, for fewer women.

And, 3) if one allows even this small tampering with human genetics, what is to prevent more pervasive—and perni-

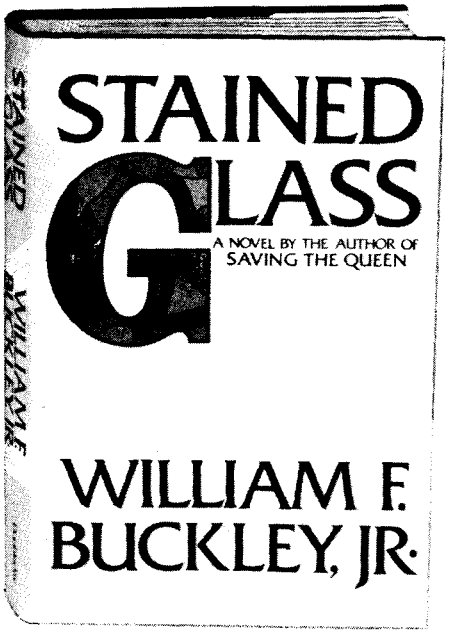
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Dear Bill, After Reading Your Fascinating Novel Stained Glass My Only Regret is that I Didn't Appoint You Head of the C.I.A.!"

Richard Nixon

"...I marvel at the management of intricate plot affairs which Buckley so elegantly displays." **Paul Horgan**
Wesleyan University

"...his clean, unpadded plotting and his literate relaxation should prove a relief from the tortured efforts of the Le Carré imitators, and anyone who can make conferences between Allen Dulles and Dean Acheson sound like vaudeville routines deserves the audience he's bound to get."
Kirkus Reviews



"...The imagined scenes between Acheson and Dulles are richly comic. Harry Truman is sharply drawn. There are three dozen, at least, perfect asides—" **Playboy**

"...the novel is by turns playful, charming, poignant, wickedly satiric, and unabashedly partisan—..."
—Jane Larkin Crain
Saturday Review

"...some of the best spy fiction in print."
San Francisco Examiner

On the National Best-seller Lists

A MAIN SELECTION OF THE LITERARY GUILD!

70,000 in Print!

Now on sale at all booksellers-$8.95

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Viguerie Company Conservative Mailing List Can Now Be Rented for the 1978 Elections By Approved Conservative Candidates.

You want to win the 1978 elections. Here—for the first time—is a powerful mailing list to help you do it.

The famous Viguerie Conservative mailing list, up to now, has been restricted to our company's full-service clients. It averages about 10,000 Conservative names per Congressional district and costs $60 per thousand names, paid in advance.

To find out how to rent these Viguerie names for your campaign, call or write:

Earl Chester or Jim Strasbourger
American Mailing Lists Corporation
7777 Leesburg Pike,
Falls Church, Va. 22043
(703) 893-2340

cious—dabbling? The liberal theorists will have a field day with the possibilities.

Yet I have confidence in Mrs. Luce. I am sure her piece was only a wicked, Swiftian satire, all the more gripping because it was so very, very outrageous.

Rochester, Minn. JOHN BERCEAU

Must one be an optimist, as Clare Boothe Luce avers, to believe that short of war the United States cannot control the vast, illegal migration over our border with Mexico? Fortunately there are grounds for optimism. With a few exceptions the participants in this migration are motivated by economic considerations. Their common expectation is that upon reaching a sanctuary here they will improve—through either working or not working—their economic lot in life. Migrations generated by economic stimuli are more amenable to control than those produced by political, religious, or racial factors. What is required to check and then reverse the flow is the adoption and enforcement of policies which destroy the immigrant's expectations of economic benefit. Such a program is entirely feasible.

Control would be far more difficult to achieve if the migration consisted of English-speaking Canadians moving en masse over our northern border. But the English spoken by the immigrants from Mexico (if they speak it at all) assists enormously in the task of identification. The task would be further simplified if all *legal* immigrants were required to carry an identification card.

What we may lack is not *power* but *will*, specifically the congressional *will* to accept responsibility for exercising sovereignty over the territory of the United States. One of the great virtues of Mrs. Luce's article is its dramatization of the absolute necessity for finding answers to this problem.

Washington, D.C. PHILIP D. BRADLEY

Jews and the Gospel

Thank you so much for your editorial "Offensive Christianity" [June 23]. Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum talks about the offensiveness of the Jewish Christian movement. It is offensive only because he chooses to take offense and to urge other Jews to take offense. As for Mrs. Stapleton, all I can say is that the situation is pathetic.

It is my hope that your readers can sympathetically understand why many Jewish people feel the need to resist the evangelists. It's due largely to misunderstanding. Nothing Jesus Christ said or did caused the Holocaust. He taught love and only love. Jesus did not come into the world to make Jews become Gentiles, but rather that through Him, Gentiles might encounter the true and living God of Israel.

We believe that, through the efforts of the Jewish evangelism agencies, a Christian love for the Jewish people will abound to the glory of God. I liked your term, "consenting adults." Not that listening to the Gospel has anything to do with adultery, but it does involve one's right to seek love and to make one's own decision.

San Francisco, Calif. MOISHE ROSEN
Chairman, Jews for Jesus

First and One

In the Letters section of the March 31 NATIONAL REVIEW, W. M. Woods of Oak Ridge, Tennessee inquires whether it is possible, as D. Keith Mano has said, for the Communist football team to have the ball "first and one on our 15-yard line." I, a Penn State grad, will be glad to help the Tennessee fans, writers, coaches, and officials with their understanding of the game, as follows:

The offensive team begins with a first down and ten on the defensive team's 24-yard, 1-foot line. The defensive team is then called for an infraction normally of 15 yards, assessed as half the distance to the goal; that is, to the 14-yard, 2-foot line. At which point the scoreboard will

(Continues on page 932)

Catch Every Eye!

On the beach, a cruise, a party... this classic imported **Moroccan Kaftan** will make you— and your figure—more alluring, exciting, mysterious.

Glamorous leisure wear for a 1000 and one nights. 100% cotton — one size fits all. Inside bodice belted.

Comes in black, brown, red, sherbet... with white embroidered trim. The only thing better than buying it for yourself... is buying it as a gift.

$19.50

Mail your order to: **ROBERT SHELDON INTERNATIONAL**—National Review Offer
500 Northern Blvd. Great Neck, New York 11021

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

How many	black	brown	red	sherbet	price	total

Add $2.00/postage/handling per kaftan
N.Y. State tax Res. add 6%
Total amount

Enclosed is $_____Check ( ) M.O. ( ) Sorry no c.o.d.
Allow 2-3 weeks delivery. Return within
7 days for refund if not completely satisfied.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Can the Communists arrange to pick the next Pope?

The question would have been crazy 20 years ago. It isn't now, says this former Vatican aide.

No author, ancient or modern, has ever written so candidly, and so knowingly, about how the Catholic Church is governed. Nor has anyone ever told us so much about the death struggle within the Church.

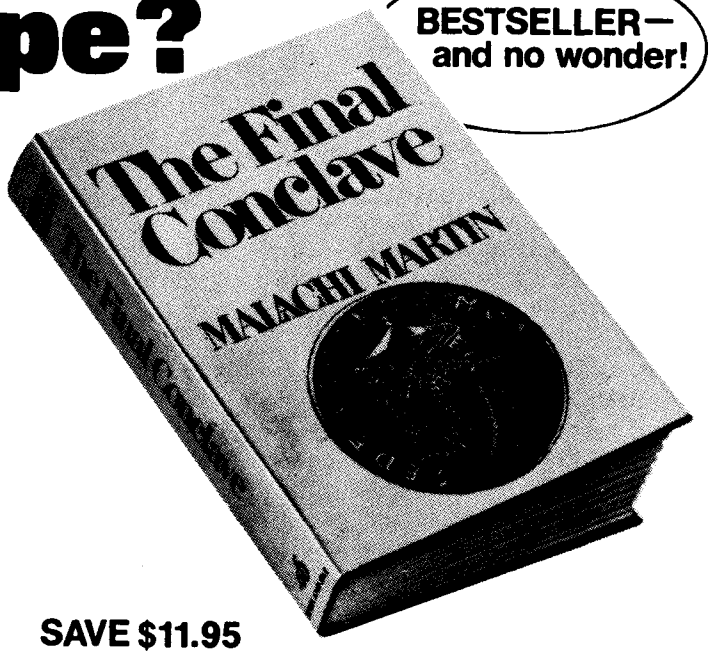
Drawing on his firsthand knowledge of Vatican policies and personalities, Malachi Martin leads off with scores of vivid episodes from the reign of Pope Paul (usually from behind the scenes). Then, abruptly, we are taken into the future, after the death of Paul. Conclave 82 is about to close its doors, leave the world outside, and elect the next Pope.

Outside the Conclave, the Kremlin is watching. Will the next Pope be the one they have picked—the one who will come to terms with Communism?

Developments in the Catholic Church—few reported until now

- The Detroit "Call to Action" Conference of Catholic leftists. The roles played by different American bishops—behind the scenes.
- A report of the meeting between Pope Paul and Archbishop Lefebvre—more detailed than any yet published. The one remark by Lefebvre that made the Pope flare up.
- Sophisticated Vatican reactions to charismatics . . . the "Jesus movement". . . the state of religion in America . . . Carter and "human rights". . . America and Europe . . . the present state of Protestantism, Judaism, the Orthodox Church, Islam, the Eastern religions.
- Pope Paul's epochal agreement with wheeler-dealer Michele Sindona. Huge Vatican losses.
- African bishops grumble about the double standard of American bishops.
- Why Pope Paul considered Cardinal Mindszenty a thorn in his side.
- How the New Mass clashes with the decrees of the Second Vatican Council.
- *Octagesima Adveniens*: does Pope Paul disapprove of American democracy?
- How many cardinals disagree with Pope Paul's policies?
- Did American cardinals play a part in the return of St. Stephen's Crown to Communist Hungary?
- The Pope's own choice for his successor. Where his favorite stands on capitalism and socialism.

BESTSELLER—and no wonder!



SAVE $11.95

"A remarkable hybrid of a book, half speculation about the future of the Roman Catholic Church after Pope Paul VI dies, half stunning recreation of the Conclave that chooses a new Pope, with a highly dramatized account of the issues facing the Church in today's world. Sometimes tendentious, a bit overwrought, but endlessly provocative." —*Bookviews*

"Enthralling story of the mortal danger the Church and our civilization are in at this minute . . . tremendous narrative." —Paul H. Hallett, *National Catholic Register*

"It's a book for Jews, Protestants and others, as well as for Catholics. The future of western civilization, after all, everybody's business."—Judson Hand, *New York Daily News*

"Fiery brilliance . . . an impact that breathes a special life into tableaux which in less skilled hands would be barely believable." —*Detroit News*

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB
165 Huguenot Street, New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801

Please send FREE **The Final Conclave** by Malachi Martin and accept my membership in the Conservative Book Club—the only book club for political conservatives. I agree to buy 3 books from among the more than 150 to be offered in the next 15 months, after which I may resign at any time. Membership entitles me to a free subscription to the Club Bulletin, which brims with news of interest to conservatives. I am eligible to buy Club books at discounts of 20% to 50% plus shipping—books on politics, investing, social issues, religion, economics, conservative ideas, Communism, history, etc. If I want the monthly Selection I do nothing; it will come automatically about one month later. If I don't want the Selection, or I prefer one of the Alternates, I merely inform you on the handy form always provided. I'll be offered a new Selection every 24 days—15 times a year. If due to late mail delivery I get a Selection without having had 10 days to decide if I want it, I may return it at Club expense. **NR 644**

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

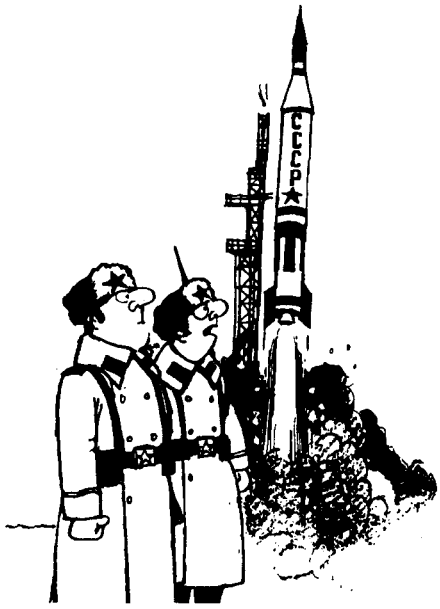
CITY/STATE _____ ZIP _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

■ Republican Governor **James Thompson** of Illinois—hope of the liberal wing of the party for 1980—may be a victim of the tax-cutting fever now sweeping the country. Thompson has vowed to veto a property tax cut measure passed by the Democratic-controlled legislature. His opponent **Michael Bakalis** has endorsed it. . . . A winner in the House Ethics Committee report's putting the finger on New Jersey Democratic Congressman **Edward Patten** is Patten's Republican opponent, sometime *NR* contributor **Charles Wiley**. . . . Latest polls show Republican senatorial contender **Rudy Boschwitz** lengthening his lead (56 to 41) over Democratic Sen. **Wendell Anderson** in Minnesota. . . . The four big-money campaigns of the year, says *U.S. News*, will be (what else) two Texas races, Rep. **Bob Krueger** *v.* Republican Sen. **John Tower**, and in the gubernatorial race Democrat **John Hill** *v.* Republican **William Clements**; the **Jerry Brown–Evelle Younger** battle in California, critical to Brown's hopes of challenging **Jimmy Carter** in 1980; and the North Carolina senatorial race between incumbent **Jesse Helms**—an influential conservative leader in the Senate—and Democrat **Bob Ingram**. . . . Maine conservatives face a problem: whether to support liberalish Rep. **William Cohen** (ACA, 35 per cent; ADA 85 per cent; AFL-CIO COPE, 58 per cent) against Democratic Sen. **William Hathaway**, who is vulnerable, or go for conservative independent candidate **Hayes Gahagan** . . . And a correction: Former Gov. **Marvin Mandel** of Maryland was convicted of political corruption but is not, as reported here last issue, in prison.

■ Want to know who are the big spenders in Congress? The National Taxpayers Union's list of spending votes in 1977 says the biggest spenders in the Senate are Democrats **Daniel Inouye** (Hawaii), **Gary Hart** (Colo.), **Mike Gravel** (Alaska), **Abraham Ribicoff** (Conn.), and **Jim Sasser** (Tenn.). The most frugal senators are **Harry Byrd** (Ind., Va.), **William Roth** (R., Del.), **Jesse Helms** (R., N.C.), **William Proxmire** (D., Wis.), and **Paul Laxalt** (R., Nev.). In the House the bad guys are **Claude Pepper** (Fla.), **Daniel Flood** (Pa.), **John Murphy** (N.Y.), and **James Burke** (Mass.)—all Democrats. The good guys are **Phil Crane** (Ill.), **William Armstrong** (Colo.), and **James Collins** (Tex.)—all Republicans. . . . Within the White House the fight against the introduction of a national health insurance program at this time is led by Treasury Secretary **Michael Blumenthal**, who fears its impact on inflation. . . . Already, says **Barry Bosworth** of the Council of Wage and Price Stability, the cost of compliance with government regulations is adding three-quarters of a point to the inflation rate every year.



Dickinson, *Punch* Rothco

"That proves the system must be foolproof—they're sending Poles up now."

■ How they react to the **Shcharansky-Ginzburg** trials: The French and Italian Communist papers (*l'Humanité* and *l'Unità*) denounced them; the British Communist paper did too, but in more moderate terms. . . . Columnist **Conrad Komorowski** of the U.S. *Daily World*, however, attacked the Carter Administration for denouncing "the completely legal proceedings against Anatoly Shcharansky in the Soviet Union, [while] the Supreme Court hands down in the **Bakke** case a racist decision." The Trotskyist *Militant* charges Moscow with a new antisemitic frame-up and puts the Shcharansky trial on a par with "the French Captain **Alfred Dreyfus** in 1894 and the Americans **Julius** and **Ethel Rosenberg** in 1953." . . . No response at all from UN Secretary General **Kurt Waldheim** despite public appeal from **Sakharov** to speak out in Shcharansky's defense. . . . And a reader of the *Washington Post*, pointing out that **Andrew Young** was in the Georgia state legislature three years after his 1968 "civil rights" arrest, asks what the odds are against Shcharansky becoming a Soviet official. . . . Holland's ambassador to Argentina **Dorone van den Brandeler** is in almost as much hot water back home as U.S. Ambassador Andrew Young. Furious members of parliament called for his dismissal because he called Argentine military leader General **Jorge Videla** a man who was "honest through and through" and "a very good Christian."

■ In Quebec, where all advertising slogans must now appear in French, "Liven Up with Seven-Up" has been transformed into, "**Hop la Vie**."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How to tell a diver's in hot water while there's still time to pull him out.

With divers exploring offshore at depths of a quarter-mile (and more), it's a problem just knowing how they're doing.

To monitor them properly you have to keep track of as many as 16 life signs. Pulse, blood pressure and the like.

And how do you do this without big, unmanageable cables?

In Britain, the Royal Navy is developing a monitoring system that uses an optical fiber cable created by the people of ITT.

Optical fibers are threads of ultrapure glass, thin as human hair.

With a laser beam, medical reports are flashed over these optical fibers by pulses of light—millions every second.

A diver's backup team will know instantly when something is going wrong (probably before the diver does).

And because the optical fibers are so thin, they can be built right into the diver's air hose. So there's nothing bulky or unmanageable to get in anybody's way.

Who knows how many divers will someday owe their lives to this monitoring system? Hundreds, perhaps thousands.

The best ideas are the ideas that help people. ITT

© 1978 International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, 320 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Freedom to innovate, Brady style

As a member of the American business community since 1914, we at Brady are all too familiar with the negative aspects on the social and economic levels of our society. We try to do what we can to change them.

But we're positive, too. Especially positive about the many freedoms we enjoy as a part of American business. Like *freedom to innovate* in our field—adhesive and graphics chemistry. With each year we proudly bring to market several unique new products designed in some way to help make information clearer, work safer, products more attractive, or jobs more productive.

Problem-solving pipe markers in a wide choice of legends and materials are just one of many innovative Brady products for industry. Our informative new corporate brochure will tell you more about Brady and its products. Perhaps you'll see a place to put Brady to work in your company. Write for a copy today.

WBC-7

BRADY

™ ADHESIVE AND GRAPHICS CHEMISTRY

W. H. BRADY CO.
727 W. Glendale Avenue
P. O. Box 571, Milwaukee, WI 53201

(Continued from page 928)

read first down, one yard to go, on the 15-yard line.

Lubbock, Tex. DAVID L. QUIGG

Republicans/Conservatives

In the Republican primary I have always voted for the man whom I considered the most conservative. In the general election I have always voted for the candidate whom I considered the more conservative whether he was my candidate in the primary or not. That is why the letter from John W. Kellogg in your July 7 issue raised my blood pressure to an unhealthy level. He said, speaking of President Ford, "if he had the slightest contact with reality he would have started to collect his bloated pension and permitted Governor Reagan to polish off Governor Carter."

I don't think there can be any doubt in anyone's mind that in 1976 Gerald Ford was the more conservative of the two candidates. When, oh when, will some of my fellow conservatives realize that half a loaf is better than no bread? In my opinion, the conservatives who did not vote for Gerald Ford because Reagan did not get the nomination deserve to be classified with the liberal Republicans who did not support Goldwater (God bless him!) in 1964. . .

Bethesda, Md. GEORGE C. WARNER JR.

Clarinets and History

I was avidly reading "Censorship, Stereotypes, and Other Fine Things" by M. J. Sobran Jr. [July 21], pausing occasionally for bravos, when I stumbled across two sentences that prompted a fit of coughing and choking, viz.: ". . . no orchestra is dedicated to the proposition that its musicians may disregard the score. But of course no man becomes a classical clarinet player if he finds Vivaldi and Haydn uncongenial." Your lacuna is showing, Mr. Sobran.

A performance of Vivaldi, Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Chopin, etc. today has a 99.97 per cent chance of making a performance of *Hamlet* from the People Who Brought You *Hair* look scholarly, however well-intentioned both may be. A pair of eighth-notes or what we call a C-Major chord have kept their meanings about as well as the words "awful" and "artificial" have since Shakespeare's time. (Try complimenting your local artists with those two and see what happens!)

The few musicians who try to use performance practices, instruments, and techniques contemporary with the music are ignored by the artistic establishment, including musicologists.

Pemberville, Ohio PAUL KEMNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ Jimmy Carter is now the first American President to send diplomatic protests to his own ambassador.

■ Veterans as well as three-year-olds are stirring in the political paddocks. Ronald Reagan's Citizens for the Republic has brought out *CFTR Political Update,* a semi-monthly news sheet aimed at "selected political leaders around the nation." The first issue reviewed primary results, cited Carter's sags in the polls, and—most important—listed 62 candidates given CFTR support.

■ LESSONS IN GOVERNMENT. "To be a man of the House is to be part of a special circle of loyalties . . . as is John Brademas of Indiana, or Tip O'Neill of Massachusetts. To be a man of the House requires not only that one understand its parliamentary trickeries but also that one love the House as an institution" (Theodore White, *Breach of Faith*, 1975). "Representative John Brademas of Indiana . . . accepted $2,950 in $50 bills from a foreign national at a time when he was involved in drafting legislation to prohibit such contributions, the House Ethics Committee reported today. The committee also criticized Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. for permitting himself to be the guest of honor at two Washington parties given by Tongsun Park. . . . Although the House committee filed formal complaints yesterday against four congressmen, the committee took no official action against Mr. Brademas [or] Mr. O'Neill" (*New York Times*, July 14, 1978).

■ America's most advanced breeder reactor project got a brief reprieve when Congress thwarted Carter's latest attempt to kill it. The Clinch River, Tennessee project has already been vetoed once (Congress saved it last year by tacking it onto a public works bill). This time around, Carter offered a compromise—scrap Clinch River, and the White House would spend three years designing a bigger, safer plant. Congress balked, and the battered project now heads for its second, probably fatal, veto. Carter opposes breeders on the grounds that terrorists will steal the waste and build atom bombs; in fact, plutonium bombs are a) difficult to build and b) far less efficient than numerous instruments of destruction already at the disposal of terrorists (e.g., poison in a city water supply). So break out the whale oil.

■ BITER BIT DEPARTMENT. In a little-noticed decision last month, the National Labor Relations Board laid a heavy one on a local of the Teamsters Union. The union was found to have breached its fiduciary obligation to its members when it failed to warn employees that they would risk losing their jobs if they persisted in pressing for an exorbitant wage increase. The union was ordered to pay back-wages to employees thus laid off, and to continue doing so until they obtained substantially equivalent employment. The principle could have wide application. Escalating wage demands, rising minimum wages, and closed labor markets create unemployment. Unions have not been held corporately responsible to non-union plaintiffs for generations. Will they now be held responsible for their excesses to their own members?

■ Representative John Ashbrook (R., Ohio) has come up with a plan he thinks will restore a little health to federalism, give states some room to maneuver in the tax revolt, and short-circuit the federal education bureaucracy to boot. He has proposed the largest federal-aid-to-education bill in U.S. history, but in the form of no-strings-attached block grants to the states, proportional to the number of elementary and secondary school children enrolled in the individual state. The program would cost $59 billion over five years, but Ashbrook figures that amount would be spent *anyway*; and his proposal would save several hundred million in administrative costs and, not incidentally, spare teachers millions of hours of federal paperwork. Who knows, the one-page bill, designed to replace another that runs to 376 pages, might even force the dismissal of some Washington bureaucrats, thus sundering the welfare-education constituency and leaving overworked teachers on the side of the angels. The catch is, of course, that taxpayers must still put up $59 billion.

■ An Appeals Court has upheld the dismissal of a tenured high-school art teacher in Rye, New York. The teacher, Joan LaRocca, is accused of having "proselytized" for a religious sect during class time. She claims that she did not proselytize, but that if students wanted to discuss religion, she was willing to state her own convictions: "The class has a relaxed atmosphere where students feel they can discuss anything." Anything, that is, but religion, which the Court found to be in violation of the "constitutional mandate of separation of church and state." What happened to the part of the First Amendment that secures free speech?

■ Speaking to a "town meeting" in West Berlin, President Carter fielded questions large and small. Reminded

On Staying in Bed

I gather Ford is confident
He's pulling far ahead,
But judging from his last campaign,
He shoulda stood in bed.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

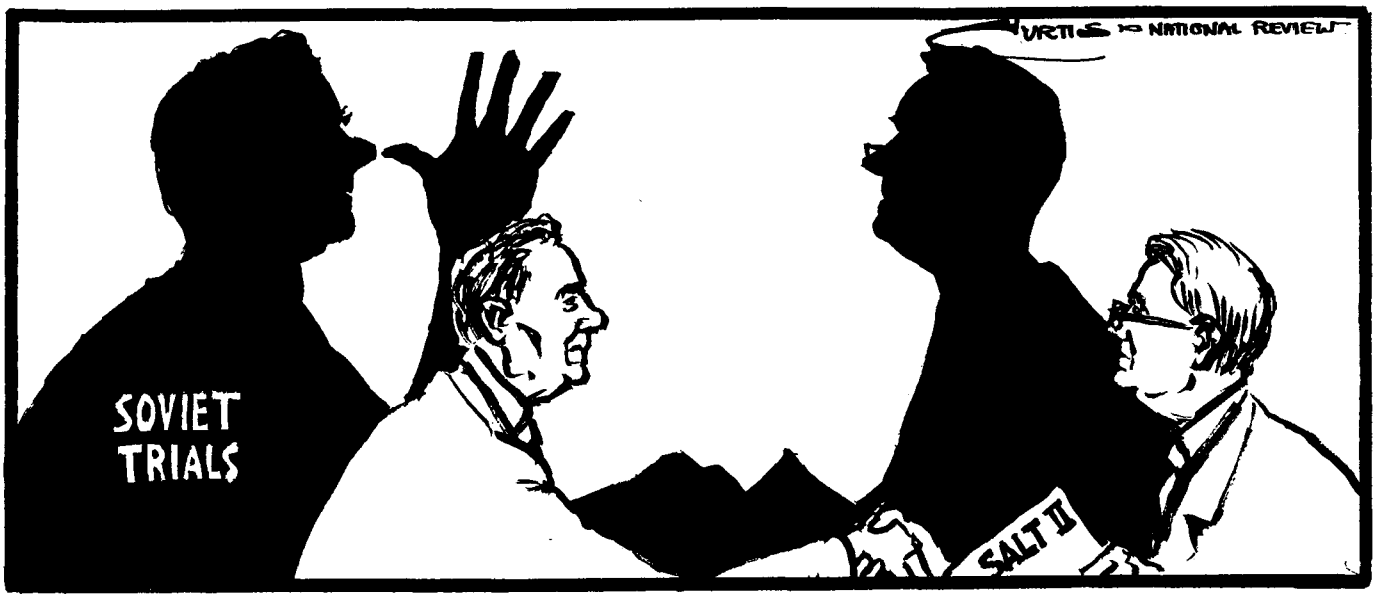
that the East German government has painted over anti-Communist graffiti on the Wall, he observed tartly that the Wall itself "demonstrates beyond the power of words the difference between those who believe in individual human rights and those who do not." He promised, *"Was immer sei, Berlin bleibt frei"* ("Whatever may be, Berlin will be free"). On the lighter side, a 12-year-old girl asked how much pocket money Amy Carter gets per week. "Zero," the President grinned. Oh, there are some "public benefits, like traveling on this trip with me and her mother," but "no allowance, no money from the federal Treasury." He added: "I might bring that up with the American Congress when I come home." Not bad, Mr. President. But don't hold your breath, Amy. The East Berliners aren't holding theirs.

■ As we go to press, it is, ho-hum, Captive Nations Week, and so far we have seen exactly one (1) notice in the major press. Namely, that of Stephen S. Rosenfeld in the *Washington Post*, under the title "The 'Captive Nations' Fantasy." Which fantasy "treats the Communist countries and especially the various Soviet nationality groups as Moscow's captives, and as nations, and calls in effect for the dissolution of the Soviet bloc and the dismemberment of the Soviet Union. To describe it in these true terms is to make plain why Captive Nations Week has never been more than a vehicle of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet extremism." Men of moderation will keep buying Soviet cotton, thus forging bonds of international cooperation and understanding, without waxing sloppy about the darkies in the fields.

■ George McGovern, in his capacity as chairman of the Senate subcommittee on international operations, has taken it upon himself to do something about all the bad news from Africa. He has called for subcommittee hearings later this summer to investigate how U.S. foreign policy is made and how Zbigniew Brzezinski's National Security Council, the source of much of the bad news, relates to this policymaking. Even before the hearings, the savvy South Dakotan seems to have reached one conclusion: he favors abolishing the position of National Security Advisor. If the bad news keeps coming, McGovern has an ace in the hole: a $1,000 Demogrant to every Cuban who leaves Africa.

■ Ten years after Chicago, that old gang of theirs, Tom Hayden et al., convened in St. Paul to discuss tactics of "progressive" reform. Many of them, like New York City Council President Carol Bellamy, are now public officials; others lead pressure groups of one sort or another. They agreed with Sam Brown (anti-Vietnam then; ACTION now) that traditional liberalism is dead, as witness Jarvis-Gann—"their" issue, they also agreed, co-opted by reactionaries. Hayden recalled a recent meeting with Jimmy Carter. "Mr. President," he said, "you don't have as much power as the head of a giant corporation, who we don't know and who was never elected." "You know," the President replied, "you are right. We have learned that these last 12 months." No doubt the most powerful man in America was just making small talk.

■ On May 12, the Maryland Medical Society rejected a resolution presented by the Montgomery County Medical Society that heroin be legalized for the treatment of terminally ill patients suffering from intractable pain. The Marylanders had expected to pass the resolution; but on the morning of the meeting, Dr. Francis Mayle, president of the Society, got a phone call from Dr. Seymour Perry, associate director of the National Institute of Health. "He said he wanted us to not be hasty in our decision," Mayle told the *Washington Post*, "that more research is needed." The resolution was accordingly defeated, 2 to 1. An example of the research Perry



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was referring to is a project of the Sloan-Kettering Institute of New York, comparing the effectiveness of heroin and morphine. Sloan-Kettering first proposed the idea in a grant application, in November 1976; the grant was approved in May 1977; approval to apply for heroin for use in the study was received in April 1978; the heroin itself arrived from the Drug Enforcement Agency some weeks later. It is the contention of the National Committee on the Treatment of Intractable Pain (See "On the Right," *NR*, February 3), that government red tape unnecessarily increases the burdens of thousands of the dying. The Maryland incident seems to bear them out.

■ Making its way through the Senate is HR-5643, a bill to implement the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Property. Under the Convention, governments would have the right to appeal for a ban on the importation into another country of all "cultural property" over five hundred years old originating from their territory. The state (i.e., the dictator) thus becomes the caretaker of its art—at least until it succeeds in driving the prices up. And the next time Keats wants to see the Elgin marbles, he can bloody well toddle off to Greece.

■ The Spirit of Helsinki lives—but not, alas, anywhere near Finland. A three-member delegation of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights has arrived in Chile and will spend two weeks investigating the condition of human rights there. This is the first time a sovereign nation has ever permitted an on-the-spot UN human rights investigation; and Chile has guaranteed the commissioners full freedom of movement and discussion, and promised no retaliation against citizens who cooperate with them. Next? Anyone for the 1980 Santiago Olympics?

■ When two students of the Methodist Garrett Evangelical Theological Seminary in Evanston, Illinois sent a letter to the administration avowing their homosexuality, the faculty voted, 15 to 10, to expel them—a move which prompted 53 faculty members of Mundelein College, a nearby Catholic school, to express "dismay . . . that a Christian academic institution [is] denying individual Christians the right . . . to the free and open struggle to define their sexuality." The expulsion, of course, denies no one the right to struggle; it simply places Methodist pulpits off-limits as a forum. Equally odd (in the absence of any forfeiture by God of his say in the matter) is the assertion, by Christian educators, that sexuality is self-defined. (Maybe Mundelein has heard something that Garrett hasn't.) The Methodist church, be it noted, opposes legal sanctions against homosexuality. But as long as the Methodists continue to consider it a sin, they are no more obliged to ordain unrepentant homosexuals than unrepentant fornicators or thieves.

■ Three nubile young men who were refused the chance to try out for the Los Angeles Rams' cheerleading squad, the Embraceable Ewes, have filed a complaint with the Federal Equal Opportunity Whatever. Their cause has been taken up by the National Organization for Women, too. "We are against all forms of sex discrimination," says a NOW spokesewe. Ba-a-ah.

■ "A failure" is what the GAO terms the U.S. Postal Service's billion-dollar Bulk Mail System, which features 21 centers across the country for highspeed, mechanized Parcel Post Pulverizing. The United Parcel Service and other private carriers have taken almost all of the government's parcel post business by offering faster service, lower rates, and much less breakage. Contemplating these trends, the Postal Service raised parcel post rates 35 per cent in May.

■ Computer searches in New York City have chopped off the welfare rolls 15,000 city and state employees.

■ Everything's normal in Uganda. Idi Amin is livid because some traders and businessmen are ignoring his $3 price ceiling on a bottle of beer and charging up to $4.50 for a 12-ounce bottle (warm).

■ For the fun of it, we have compiled a list of things reported in the news recently as exceeding the inflation rate: residential real estate prices; Social Security taxes; corruption; government growth; and average shoplifting loot.

The Power and the Glory

On June 25 Andrei Sakharov, joined for the first time by Sergei Polikanov, a nonvoting member of the prestigious USSR Academy of Sciences, calls on Western scientists to continue boycotting conferences in the Soviet Union. They are protesting the conviction and sentencing of a fellow physicist, Yuri Orlov, founder of the Soviet organization set up to monitor the Helsinki accords.

On July 1, Aleksandr Ginzburg is brought to trial on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda after 16 months in detention. As a third-time offender, he faces a maximum prison sentence of ten years in labor camps and up to five years in internal exile. If convicted he will be sentenced to a "strict regime" camp that has been described by prisoners there as "a collection of stone barracks in the middle of a swamp, where prisoners are tortured by starvation, cold, tuberculosis, and forced labor." When the judge asks him his ethnic background, Ginzburg does not reply "Jew." His answer is: "Prisoner."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

July 14. Word has reached the anxious crowd outside a Moscow courthouse that Anatoly Shcharansky has been sentenced to eight years in a particularly harsh "special regime" prison. His mother, 70-year-old Ida Milgrom, standing outside in the cold rain makes a statement, of gratitude, to the President of the United States. "I have been standing in front of the iron barriers, in front of a thick wall of KGB men and militiamen, hoping to see my child, at least from afar. All these days I have heard your sincere, authoritative voice in defense of innocent men. Would you accept, Mr. President, our deep, heartfelt gratitude."

Shcharansky's original crime was that he applied for permission to emigrate to Israel. Refusal of that visa and the routine harassments that accompany such refusals drove him into the dissident camp. David Shipler, of the *New York Times*, reports that Shcharansky's sentence has put away one dissident but given birth to four more: Shcharansky's mother, his father, his brothers, and his brother's wife.

On July 14, Lithuanian dissident Viktoras Petkus is sentenced to ten-and-five—ten years in labor camps and five in exile. He is the twentieth member of the Helsinki monitoring group to have received a heavy prison sentence.

On July 16, it started up again. The Soviet Union stripped Oskar Rabin, a nonconformist artist now living in Paris, of his Soviet citizenship.

On July 18, Lev Lukyannenko, a Ukrainian human rights activist, went on trial charged with anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. Lukyannenko has already spent 15 years in Soviet labor camps. He was released to resume his human rights agitation little more than two years ago.

And still they step forward.

In Graham Greene's novel of the persecution of Catholics in revolutionary Mexico, *The Power and the Glory*, the weak and alcoholic protagonist—a failed man, but not in the end a failed priest—finally is betrayed and shot. He is the last priest in the district, the only one who can baptize, confess, marry, give extreme unction, and consecrate the bread and wine. There is a feeling of desolation among the faithful, and then a knock on the door. They open it fearfully. A young man walks in and introduces himself. "I am the new priest."

On July 16, Dr. Sergei Polikanov, respected member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, announced that he would join the Helsinki human rights organization to make up for the loss to it of Shcharansky, Ginzburg, Petkus, Orlov, and the whole long line of Soviet freedom fighters.

Enough Rope

Danny Deever died at daybreak;
Nathan Hale succumbed at noon.
When they dragged Miss Otis from that jail,
She hummed Cole Porter's tune.
Nurse Cavell annoyed the Kaiser;
Martin Luther bugged the Pope;
And from Andrew Young's last press release,
He's got sufficient rope.

W. H. VON DREELE

Andrew Young v. the U.S.A.

"If Andrew Young makes another irresponsible statement that fits into this pattern of bad judgment, I think he should go." So said Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd, and already Young has come through with a threat to return to the subject of American political prisoners. He should resign but, as columnist Max Lerner says, he won't. He made that plain after President Carter's rebuke. "I accepted the rebuke . . ." but, he went on, "I didn't overstate the numbers of people. . . . I assure you that I'll come back to the question of what is a political prisoner in the United States." He has thrown down the gauntlet before Carter.

Any President from Lincoln to Richard Nixon (even Chester Arthur) would have fired him ere now. Carter, however, a weak President to start with, has made himself hostage to Young's constituency. We can expect an unrepentant Young to continue to spurn his own leader in the eyes of the world, at least until after the November elections.

But there is more to it than simply a loose tongue. The operative clause in Senator Byrd's statement is not "bad judgment," but, *"that fits into this pattern."* There is a pattern. Young is not dumb. Consider the following: Communist Cuban troops bring "a certain stability and order to Angola"; Cubans in Ethiopia are "not a bad thing"; the British "practically invented racism"; the Swedes are "terrible racists"; the Russians are the "worst racists in the world"; if planned attacks are made on missions in Rhodesia, "then I would say that it could *only* come from Smith's camp." Is it any surprise that the author of these views belittles the massive sixty-year Soviet ideological suppression of humanity by comparing it to his own brief arrest (for obstructing a garbage cleanup during a garbage-collectors' strike) and release (in less than 24 hours) ten years ago? "After all," he shrugs, "in *our* prisons *too* [note the direct equation] there are hundreds, perhaps even thousands of people I would call political prisoners." His subsequent tight-lipped grudging allowance that no Americans have "received penalties for monitoring our government's position on civil and human rights" (i.e., for doing exactly what Shcharansky and Ginzburg did) further revealed the depth of his bias and,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as the *Washington Post* commented, "compounded the original offense."

The pattern is clear. The dominant factor conditioning Mr. Young's view of the world is his own experience in the domestic struggle against racial discrimination. During his years of struggle, Mr. Young—like some others in the protest movements of the Sixties and Seventies—became habituated to struggle against the American "system," sometimes against the police or a school, sometimes against a mayor, a governor, a court, or the U.S. Government, but always against the "system" in his own country. Much of this was politically justified, but Mr. Young has not overcome the syndrome; hence he tends to empathize with and apologize for the foreign rivals of that same American system which has been his rival so long. The enemy of my enemy is my friend.

Mr. Young is not a Communist but neither is he the victim of a loose tongue. So obsessed is he with racial confrontation at home that he cannot see world problems in a broader context. He cannot think of himself as the representative of the *whole* of the United States. He sees his present job as a linear extension of his higher calling to the rectification of racial injustice. One can understand; but one is led ineluctably to the conclusion that Mr. Young is spiritually and psychologically incapable of representing the United States in international relations. He sees the world through the eyes of one representing a domestic minority. After many years of examining American social ills through a microscope, now, looking through the wrong end of the telescope, he is unable to achieve perspective.

He should resign, but he won't. President Carter should fire him but is afraid to do so. The only comfort is that he sits in the United Nations, where his babble will in due course blend with that of the majority, from which he is becoming indistinguishable.

Rhodesia's Turn

Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Cuba, Vietnam, Portugal, Chile . . . Rhodesia. One after another vulnerable country takes its turn as Target One of the global revolution. Some go under; some survive, scarred deeply. In both Chile and Portugal, it was a close-run thing.

In Rhodesia, Carter Administration policy favors the guerrillas of the Patriotic Front, who would impose a Mozambique/Angola-type dictatorship on "liberated" Zimbabwe. Thus, the Administration backs sanctions against the Salisbury government (which is trying to hold internationally supervised elections) while at the same time pouring aid into the front-line or confrontation states, which back the Patriotic Front. The Administration's rationale can be given in one word: Nigeria. We have in effect turned U.S. policy over to the Lagos government, which for its own reasons backs the confrontation states and the Patriotic Front.

Rhodesian moderates—prominently including Bishop Abel Muzorewa, now visiting the U.S.—have every reason to feel betrayed by this policy, a short-sighted exercise in *Realpolitik*. Throughout the non-Communist world, or what British strategist Brian Crozier in a masterly new book calls the Target Area, moderate forces deserve tough U.S. strategic support.

A recent motion by Senator Jesse Helms to lift sanctions against Rhodesia failed by a mere six votes. Guerrilla warfare escalates in the countryside. "Under the spreading chestnut tree," as George Orwell wrote with bitter irony, "I sold you and you sold me . . ."

Rhodesia's time in the front line has now arrived. The prospects are grim. The turn of others will come, and sooner than they think. The Target Area shrinks relentlessly.

From Namibia to Rhodesia and Angola?

There is a fond hope that successful implementation of independence for Namibia (South West Africa) will spark a domino effect in Rhodesia. Perhaps, but not to judge from the words of the Marxist Patriotic Front leader Robert Mugabe, who, at the OAU conference in Khartoum, hailed the Namibia agreement but in the next breath asked his African brothers (and whoever else might be listening) for more arms and military training for his guerrillas, "and we shall do the rest." One difference of course is that Namibia is a primitive, sparsely populated desert more susceptible to outside pressure than Rhodesia, a sophisticated state of some seven million with highly organized social and political leadership —black and white—capable of administering the country. Moreover, the "front-line" states have not applied to Mugabe and Nkomo the same pressure they applied to Namibia's SWAPO leader, Sam Nujoma.

Still, success in Namibia would improve the atmosphere. Unfortunately, the postponed issue of the future status of South West Africa's only deep water port, Walvis Bay, could sour the milk. South Africa has held Walvis since before assuming its 1920 League of Nations mandate, but SWAPO insists (with tacit support from the five Western powers, resented by Pretoria) that the port is an integral part of Namibia. If this obstacle can be negotiated or circumvented in the Security Council debate, the prospects of success will rise.

To judge the ripple effect of Namibia, the place to watch is Angola, which could find that calm on its southern border would permit a major reduction in dependence on Cuban forces, as some in Washington believe. The question is whether the Cuban role is primarily re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lated to external security or to internal suppression of the rival UNITA forces of Jonas Savimbi, on whom the Carter Administration turned its back in favor of working through the Cuban-supported Angolan government.

Watch this as a measure of Administration success, not to mention as a possible offset to Andrew Young's current disfavor.

Summit or the Pits?

The Bonn summit was only marginally less futile than last year's escapade on Downing Street, where U.S. missionaries preached to the Germans and Japanese about how to achieve a faster rate of growth by imitating the British and Italians. We alone were foolish enough to take our own advice, so the Carter Administration went to this new summit without even realizing that its hands were soiled by rising inflation and a falling dollar.

There was only a trace more humility in the annual ritual of officials pledging to produce specific rates of economic growth, despite ample evidence that they don't have the vaguest idea how to make economies grow. The French, British, and Germans, for example, promised to fight inflation and promote growth through the unpromising device of increasing the taxpayers' national debt. The only visible doubts about such outworn Keynesian fashion was the Italian proposal to boost investment by cutting public spending.

There was little interest in Carter-style energy austerity, although everyone would be glad to take any oil we save. Instead, the emphasis was on aggressive development of energy resources. "The further development of nuclear energy is indispensable," said the summit declaration, and "coal should play an increasingly important role." Europe and Japan aren't interested in saving energy for a rainy day; the rainy day is already here.

In place of the self-defeating Carter proposals to limit imports through "voluntary" quotas or by taxing energy that fuels the economy, the Bonn declaration put new emphasis on the positive side of balancing trade: "The United States is firmly committed to improve its export performance." There were also the customary generalizations in support of free trade, foreign aid, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank—none of which changes the reality that these countries are actually becoming more protectionist and less inclined to aid their less developed rivals.

Most of all, there was a storm warning implied in the opening moves toward a larger and stronger European monetary union. Members of the European community would thus be expected to limit exchange rate changes by buying and selling currencies, or, more properly, by adjusting fiscal and monetary policies. The message (lost on the Carter people) was that the world cannot live comfortably with a dollar-based monetary system if the U.S. will not maintain the purchasing power of the dollar, both at home and abroad. The U.S. has simply not lived up to the responsibility of being, in effect, the world's central bank. As a result, the dollar may eventually lose its pivotal position in international transactions, leaving few credible alternatives—principally gold.

The main concern of our trading partners is the same worry that infects the foreign exchange and U.S. stock market. It was clearly stated by the head of Japan's Planning Agency, Kiichi Miyazawa, shortly before the summit: "You have a big budget deficit on the order of $60 billion which is going to climb further, and you now have inflation of 7 per cent, which is also going up." Unless we do something fast and dramatic on the spending side of the budget, nobody will believe that the U.S. is really serious about restraining inflation and strengthening the dollar.

Out of the Rubble

The current rulers of Red China have announced the release of 110,000 of their fellow countrymen, jailed since the post-Hundred Flowers crackdown of 1957. The event raises a number of interesting points. It belies, first, all those glowing accounts of the Workers' Paradise fed to the American people in the Sixties and early Seventies. While foreign reporters gaped at the cleanliness of the streets, and while Richard Nixon toasted the accomplishments of Mao Tse-tung in the Palace of Heavenly Peace, a prison population the size of Albany, New York was marking its second decade of confinement. At the same time, Peking has been making its first official admissions of torture. The Chinese press agency, Hsinhua, has charged that "tens of thousands" of people in Shanghai were "cruelly tortured or persecuted" by the Gang of Four radicals; in another accusation, more than a thousand people in the Ministry of Culture in Peking are supposed to have been purged, imprisoned, or tortured to extract confessions, by the same set of villains.

The new leniency has not arisen out of the goodness of anyone's heart. China's rulers are understandably anxious to be nice to the enemies of their enemies. Peking also has the motive of fear. The ideologues of the Cultural Revolution wrecked the economy, and set Chinese military capability back by years. "Remote-control specialists were turned into butchers," laments the Party newspaper *Jenmin Jih Pao*, "some specializing in rocketry were assigned as doorkeepers." With Russia lowering on its northern border, the Chinese cannot afford to be pure Maoists.

We congratulate the 110,000, then, on their release; and only wish they had been released in some place more pleasant.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

That ERA March

Axiom: When you don't have the votes, take to the streets, making sure you keep one and one-half eyes on the media.

Example: The ERA demonstration in Washington over a recent hot weekend (followed by the acquiescent vote by the House committee), with, among other speakers, Gloria Steinem asserting that the movement for women's equality might not "remain peaceful" unless Congress extends by seven years the deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Item, FLASH: If Ms. Steinem desires *not* to "remain peaceful," *NR* will provide a senior editor to engage her in public fisticuffs, under Marquis of Queensberry or any other rules.

Seriously: The arguments against extension are conclusive. At the moment, ERA is three and probably six states short of ratification. As Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes once explained, a constitutional amendment, once proposed, should not be open for ratification indefinitely. Ratification "must be sufficiently contemporaneous in the required number of states to reflect the will of the people in all sections at relatively the same period of time." Congress has considered seven years a reasonable limit for all constitutional amendments during the last fifty years. Historically, no amendment has required more than four years. Under a "deliberate sense of the people" theory of government, the arguments against extension are decisive. Having failed in 84 months, ERA supporters are demanding 168. This is a theoretical absurdity. Entangling themselves in a huge contradiction, ERA supporters are asserting that if, as seems utterly unlikely, Congress does extend the period for state ratification, nevertheless those states which have voted to ratify cannot rescind. If the issues are indeed so profound, why should former positive votes not be reconsidered?

Symbolically: ERA would not accomplish anything that cannot be accomplished by present laws. Still, it remains an important symbol in many ways. For many in the women's movement, ratification of the amendment would be the analogue of the famous flag-raising on Iwo Jima. The battle had been won, but the celebration was important. There remain many (though they are eroding) practical disabilities for women—in credit, in salary, in promotion, and so forth.

Conclusion: Everything should be done—it would be idiotic to think otherwise—to bring 52 per cent of the population fully into the national talent bank. But also, the Constitution is not a Christmas tree on which to hang sparkling ornaments.

Postscript: The next issue of *NR* will feature an important article on the subject by a legal scholar.

Cy Vance Strikes Back

As Anatoly F. Shcharansky
  Readies for the crunch,
Cy Vance lets Moscow have it with
  His dirty rabbit punch.
He's cutting conversation off
  On cleaning up the air;
Nor will he send our science team,
  Until they're nice. So there!

W. H. VON DREELE

Public Be Damned

A specter is haunting public employee unions: Proposition 13. In their latest series of strikes the unions have begun, *mirabile dictu*, to discover a sense of limits; to realize, fitfully and painfully, that taxpayers will no longer ante up to meet their demands.

A sudden emphasis on job guarantees bespeaks a newfound anxiety over taxpayers' stiffening resistance. In Washington, 3,500 Postal Service workers demonstrated in support of demands for renewal of the no-layoff clause in their contract and a 14 per cent annual pay increase. In Philadelphia, 20,000 non-uniformed city workers walked off the job demanding a guarantee of no layoffs and the same 9 per cent pay raise currently granted city police.

But tax revenues aren't growing fast enough to meet demands. To pay for the police settlement, Philadelphia had planned to furlough more than 3,000 non-uniformed workers. Unfair, cried the janitors, health officials, prison guards, and librarians, whose union spokesman explained, "What our members are looking for is a fair and equitable distribution of taxpayers' money for all city employees." *Redistribution for the redistributionists!* is the cry. Mayor Frank Rizzo agreed to lay off some police and firemen in order to reduce the number of non-uniformed workers who would otherwise lose their jobs. Just who will be laid off to pay for *their* raise is, well, an impertinent question, under the circumstances.

In the meantime, striking firefighters and policemen in Louisville and Cleveland provide fresh examples of why unionized public employees constitute a clear and present danger to public safety. By threatening the indispensable operations of government they make a mockery of civil government. The idea of *public* service, of being a *public* servant, dissolves; the result being bureaucratized anarchy.

The final victim of this eructation of selfishness is the very concept of the public interest, which, to union members, becomes merely an economic lever.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The End of Revenue Sharing

In the orgy of self-congratulation following the Senate's approval of federal loan guarantees to New York, the testimony of Howard Samuels went practically unnoticed. Samuels, a liberal Democrat and a Carter fundraiser, spoke on the last day of hearings, and he laid the blame for New York's problems squarely on—New York. Since 1969, the city has lost a sixth of its economic base; the cause, Samuels said, was a vicious circle of mismanagement and dishonesty. "Bad management raises costs and taxes. Higher taxes drive out the private economy. Resulting job losses increase social costs and decrease revenue. Decreased revenue and increased social cost require still higher taxes. And the circle starts all over again." Local governments conceal their incompetence by lying. In the last year, the Council on Municipal Performance, of which Samuels is a member, examined fifty municipal prospectuses. "Fewer than a third explained their accounting standards clearly. Less than half were audited. . . . "If corporations manipulated their books as do many governments," Samuels concluded, "corporate executives could be tried for fraud."

Taken together, Proposition 13 and the debility of New York may be the beginning of the end of revenue sharing. Revenue sharing, it will be remembered, was the Nixon Administration's grand attempt to coat the pill of big government. It was assumed that massive federal programs were necessary: the most "conservatives" could do was to farm some of the administering out to the locals. Samuels' remedy—uniform federal accounting standards—treats only the symptoms. What is needed—what voters might be in a mood to demand—is a thorough paring of government interventions.

England: Waiting for Margaret?

For the moment, a strange calm has settled over British politics, though the political storm gathers in the middle distance. An October general election seems inevitable.

"The Nellie, *a cruising yawl, swung to her anchor without a flutter of the sails, and was at rest. The flood had made, the wind was nearly calm, and being bound down the river, the only thing for it was to come to and wait for the turn of the tide. The sea-reach of the Thames stretched before us like the beginning of an interminable waterway."*

Thus Joseph Conrad begins his most famous parable. Another great turning point seems at hand, as England attempts to leave the nineteenth century—socialism, class envy—and enter the twentieth: modern economics, Europe, the totalitarian challenge within and without.

In preparation for her approaching moment of truth, Tory leader Margaret Thatcher has made some stylistic changes. These have appeased the liberal wing of her party (Heath, Whitelaw), and it remains to be seen whether they are changes in substance. Her 1977 polarizing themes of immigration and excessive union power have been muted, though not disavowed. Tax incentives and spending cuts have moved into the foreground. Such motifs resonate with the national mood: in recent polling 78 per cent oppose further nationalization, 71 per cent regard nationalization as an unsuccessful tactic.

But both immigration and union power are root issues for the future of England, divisive though they are. *"The air was dark above Gravesend, and farther back still seemed condensed into a mournful gloom, brooding motionless over the biggest, and the greatest, town on earth."* The fall election promises to be one of those great turning points, comparable to the postwar election that brought the Labor Party to decisive power.

Notes & Asides

■ Memo to our readers:

In this issue we introduce a new feature. Every third issue, Dale Vree will review one or more serious or merely trendy straws in the academic wind. Some will prove to be mere williwaws, others great glacial movements. Mr. Vree—PhD from Berkeley (in political theory), author of *On Synthesizing Marxism and Christianity*, professor of Christian Social Ethics at St. Joseph of Arimathea Anglican Theological College in Berkeley, executive editor of the *New Oxford Review*, author of a forthcoming book on the New Class and the cultural revolution of the 1960s and '70s (for Oxford University Press)—is a top meteorological observer. See p. 962.

Mr. Vree writes: "The title I have selected for the column is 'Sage Brush.' Writers are referred to as using 'broad brush strokes.' Therefore, writers paint with 'brush' strokes—either broad or fine. 'Sage' is self-explanatory. I would like it to be 'Sage Brush' (two words) to emphasize these meanings. Yet, 'sagebrush' (single word) is also suggested. Sagebrush blows across the dry plains of the West. I'm partial to the West, so I like that. Also, 'sagebrush' suggests a certain temporality or transitoriness—which does characterize *articles* in quarterlies and high level monthlies, the focus of the column. In my mind's eye I can see sagebrush bobbing across the desert. Since I regard books as more permanent (boulders?) than articles, the sagebrush image seems fitting." WFB

■ Memo to: WFB
From: Joe Sobran
It has suddenly occurred to me that it's been a long

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here's how you can make a Conservative out of someone you know

Put National Review in his hands. It's about the quickest way you can find to turn a *potential* conservative into an *actual* conservative. We know, because many of our regular subscribers have been doing just that for years with great success. Of course, we don't expect you to brave hail or high water to do it—we'll be more than happy to take care of that part ourselves. What we *can't* do is locate these potential conservatives. We don't know who they are but *you* do. They're your friends, relatives, neighbors, business and social acquaintances.

Think about it for a moment, right now. Pick someone you know (who doesn't already get NR) who thinks pretty much as you do about taxes, the state of the economy, big government, his children's education, etc. He may not realize it yet but he'd be vitally interested in what conservatives have to say about these things — (and where do conservatives say it better than in *National Review?*).

Rip out the card facing this page, NOW, and use it to introduce NR to your potential conservative at the special introductory rate of only $7.50 for the next 10 issues. He'll be glad you did. So will you. So will we. You don't often get a chance to make so many people happy with one stroke of the pen. So do it now.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time since you've said *ceteris paribus*, *mutatis mutandis*, or *pari passu*. What's going on? Not *aggiornamento*, I hope.

Memo to: Joe Sobran
From: WFB
Aggiornamento? Whazzat? *A bas* with these out-of-town words.

■ Memo: Urbi et orbi
From: WFB
Re: Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn
Whereas La Pietà traveled across the Atlantic Ocean only once (for the World's Fair, 1964-65), the other European Masterpiece, Herr Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, our chief European correspondent, will lecture again this year during the months of October-November, working his way westward. Do not miss the opportunity to hear him lecture on any subject, from the heresies of Thales, to the heresies of John Cage. Address inquiries to: Lans, Tyrol, Austria.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:
Can you allow the sanctioning of a complete and total waste of a human life?

There is no justifiable reason why the medically ill and impaired should not be allowed to be the recipient of a healthier and extended life. This can be done by using the organs of a person that is facing an unavoidable death by execution.

The popular method of execution by electrocution is barbaric in that it deprives thousands of people of the above type of life. There is a better method of execution, one that is far more humane, because of the immense benefit to mankind.

I am on death row in Alabama and my death is very imminent. Therefore, it is my profound wish to be put to death in such a manner that will benefit others. My proposal is that my execution be done on an operating table so that my vital organs can be removed for donation to the vast number of people that are so urgently in need. I am writing to plead for your help and support in getting the legislature to quickly enact a law that will give a condemned man the choice of the aforementioned mode of execution.

I sincerely thank you for your patience in listening to me, and I would greatly appreciate your ideas or suggestions.

Sincerely,
John Evans
P.O. Box 37
Holmon Station, Ala.

Dear Mr. Evans:

Inasmuch as you are scheduled to be electrocuted on August 4 and have declined to appeal your death sentence there would appear to be little time for maneuvering to change the law so as to introduce alternative means of execution. Your sentence (for first-degree murder) mandates that means of execution (electrocution) specified by the law. Let us pray that your death, if indeed it is to be, will mean that something less than "thousands" of people will be deprived of the use of vital organs recapturable from men and women sentenced to death. Win or lose, may God have mercy on your soul.

WFB

■ Dear Wm.:
You missed the editorial conference today because of your silly effort to reform the SEC and I damned near missed the conference because of my hapless effort to drive an automobile into New York without an instrument clearance. Nevertheless, I barged into the conference in time to make the following statement, which I composed in the ten minutes between Greenwich and 125th Street, and perfected in the two hours between 125th Street and *NR*:

> Gentlemen: I move that, after many years of faithful service, the adjective "monumental" be retired from active duty, to be subject to recall only in a period of emergency, and then to be assigned to duty only in connection with invoices for tombstones.

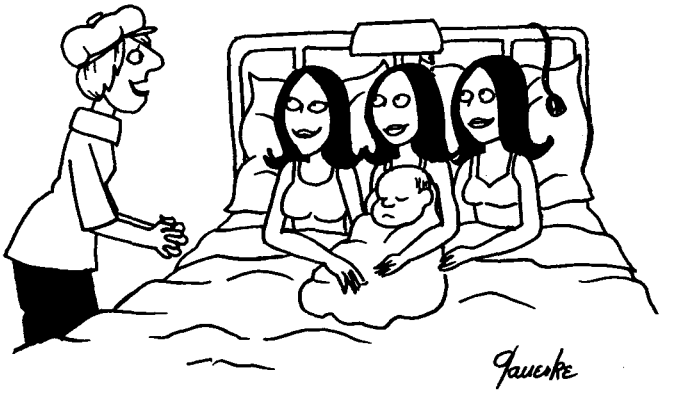
This motion was considered by the editorial assembly. One Williamson appended a rider including the adjective "massive," to be subject to the same constraints, and the motion as amended was passed unanimously, perhaps because everyone was ready for lunch.

A young man with a mustachio proposed that we consider using the adjective "big" whenever we are faced with the task of describing something that is not small, and the proposal was hailed as a gift from Above.

You would have been proud of me.

Cheers,
Bill [Rickenbacker]

Nihil obstat. **—WFB**



"—and Zero Population Growth is pleased to grant you its highest award."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tit for Tat

The Protracted Conflict

JAMES BURNHAM

Jimmy Carter, Esq.
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

In a recent issue of the *New York Times*, Hedrick Smith—with whose illuminating book, *The Russians*, you are undoubtedly familiar—discusses the difficulty you have had in finding "strong enough counter-measures to show the Russians [your] toughness . . . when they ignore [your] ringing declarations that [you] will not let them 'push us around.'" Members of your staff, Smith states, "suggest" that you now feel "compelled to retaliate forcefully to recoup prestige and counteract an image of weakness."

Smith notes that "so far the only step [you] have taken has been to cancel some American delegations to Moscow. Some Administration officials consider that to be only a token action with little deterrent effect."

Your difficulty is not unique. Your predecessors from 1917 on faced the same difficulty, and none of them found an altogether satisfactory solution.

In your case, the "image of weakness" has been exaggerated by media overplay of such easily sensationalized Soviet acts as the trials of the dissidents and the Cuban capers. The strategic significance of our rapprochement with China and our links with Iran and Saudi Arabia lend themselves less readily to processing for mass consumption. It is possible that, as the Kremlin sees things, the Shcharansky and Ginzburg trials were needed to toughen up a Soviet "image of weakness."

Sticks and Stones

However, it is the fact, whatever its cause, that in its Soviet policy your Administration's public image on this side of the Curtain is of weakness. Pat Caddell reminded you and the rest of us, just before you took the oath of office, that for winning elections—and it may even be, sometimes, for winning wars—the image can be more important than the substance.

The Soviet Union, then, has been behaving in ways either dangerous or offensive to you and to the United States. As you have found, and as Hedrick Smith observes, it is a lot easier to retaliate against this behavior with impressive words than with firm acts. When it comes to the acts, you find yourself in a multiple bind not of your making.

To begin with, in the nuclear age you are not going to risk general war. If possible, you are going to try to reduce the risk by a suitable agreement on strategic arms control. Already you've got a tricky juggle on your hands: how will you get people to make sense out of cooperating with the Soviets (on arms control) and simultaneously punishing them for misbehavior?

Then there's Congress in your hair, with its leaks, squabbles, prohibitions, and built-in opposition to firm presidential initiative. And back of Congress are the citizens, who couldn't care less about the Horn of Africa and have no wish to fight the Cubans in Zimbabwe or Namibia or whatever it's called.

Then there's another complication. In kind and quantity a retaliation ought to be and to seem relevant, appropriate to the act that evokes it. You don't atomize Minsk because the Russians arrest a U.S. businessman; you won't prevent Soviet control of Eritrea by quoting the UN Declaration of Rights. Looked at rationally, as your Secretary of State has insisted, it doesn't make sense to break off negotiations on strategic weapons control because a dissident gets railroaded to Siberia or even because Cubans show up in Addis Ababa, but it is also true that these and other Soviet provocations make us sore, so that we want you to hit back even if what you do isn't exactly relevant.

The problem of "strong enough counter-measures" will confront you, as it has your predecessors, throughout your Administration. Effective counter-measures, moreover, usually require long preparation.

Fortunately, you have ready at hand a dramatic action that would serve as an ideal counter-measure while you worked out your broader policy problem. It will cost the Treasury nothing. To be put into operation, it needs only a few moments of your time. It is sure-fire. It will drive home to world opinion the moral as well as the political line between Western freedom and Soviet totalitarianism. By thus displaying the truth about the Soviet system it will be a powerful blow against its brutal and dangerous leaders. It will frustrate a grandiose Soviet project through which those leaders have expected to promote Soviet prestige and power.

Right before Your Eyes

This counter-measure I recommend to your attention is a boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics. It is a travesty on the Olympics ideal that the Games should have been assigned to Moscow. In their modern as in their ancient origin, the Games were conceived as an expression of the ideal of the free individual, of the free and honorable competition of true athletes giving their best for their own honor and the honor of their sport.

The Kremlin's plan for the 1980 Olympics is based on Hitler's example in the 1936 Berlin Olympics: to use the Games as a colossal propaganda spectacle glorifying the power and hiding the crimes of the totalitarian state. What business do we Americans have in giving what is in fact indispensable help to the Kremlin in this enterprise designed, like Hitler's Olympics, as a major campaign in the permanent war against freedom? Is the United States going to go compliantly along, as we and the other Western nations did for Hitler's spectacular? With our withdrawal the Kremlin's plan will fall to pieces. It's up to you, Mr. President.

A footnote: While you're at it, I'd like to suggest one other easy and effective toughening act: get rid of Andy Young. It will be hard to take your toughness to the Russians seriously if you keep an aide at Cabinet level who welcomes the Russians in Africa as a stabilizing element and comforts the Kremlin, at the climax of the dissidents' trials, with the lie that our jails hold thousands of political prisoners. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FORECASTING IN CIRCLES

Why Economists Disagree

ALAN REYNOLDS

In discussing the economic outlook, the usual approach is to decide first whether the conclusion will be bullish or bearish, and then to pick some recent statistics to support the position you've chosen. An experienced forecaster can play this game from either side.

Nonetheless, although forecasting necessarily involves a large amount of judgment, the economic theories on which it should be based can be tested against objective rules of logic and evidence. Short-term forecasting, however, is too often based entirely on historical relationships between a few statistics: increases in real, after-tax incomes are likely to be accompanied by increases in retail sales; increases in wholesale industrial prices are apt to be followed by increases in consumer prices.

But these handy rules-of-thumb are not ultimate explanations of what causes what, and the attempt to treat them as such leads economists into hopelessly circular arguments. The most elaborate economic models, for example, say that inflation is caused by rising wages, rising wages are caused by low unemployment, and low unemployment is caused by inflation. A perfect circle. This perpetual motion machine doesn't work; but the ageing economists who built it do not want to revise their textbooks. When theory conflicts with reality, it is obvious which is considered expendable.

Several major differences between economic theories lie hidden behind most differences in what appear to be pragmatic appraisals of the economic situation. These implicit theoretical disagreements relate to fiscal and monetary policy, measures of spare productive capacity, and questions about the direction of causality—chicken-and-egg problems. Since the consensus theory of mainstream economists has been wrong for years, the consensus forecast has been equally muddled.

The conventional view of fiscal policy is that when the government spends more than it extracts in taxes, the resulting deficit is a stimulus to demand. Tremendous importance is attached to even relatively tiny variations in taxes or spending—variations smaller than the usual error in estimating the figures. But the government obviously has to finance its deficits, and if it borrows from me and gives the proceeds to you, there is no change in purchasing power—only an increase in your future taxes to pay interest to me. Short of a deep depression, there is no reason to suppose that money not borrowed and spent by governments would not be spent at all. What in fact happens when government borrows heavily is that savings that would otherwise have gone into productive private investment are channeled into government securities and used to subsidize consumption and leisure. The net effect is to restrict the economy's productive capacity and limit real growth. Traditional fiscal stimulus doesn't stimulate anything but the dealers in government securities.

The conventional view of monetary policy is that a rapid increase in the money supply drives interest rates down. But whenever the supply of money outruns the supply of things money can buy, we get more inflation. Lenders are understandably reluctant to lend money at 5 per cent for a period in which inflation is expected to be 7 per cent, and borrowers are just about as eager to borrow money at rates that will more than compensate lenders for inflation (since the point of buying with credit is to get the jump on price increases and later repay the loan with shrunken dollars). The result is that speeding up the printing press soon drives interest rates up—not down.

The conventional view of spare capacity used to be that inflation was impossible so long as unemployment was above 4 per cent. The only recent concession to reality has been to raise that to about 5 per cent or 5.5 per cent. In fact, the unemployment rate is bloated by new requirements that welfare recipients go through the motions of registering for work, by the generosity of tax-free unemployment benefits, and by the fact that millions of housewives and teenagers have been enticed into the ranks of job seekers by the huge increase in attractive job opportunities. No single unemployment rate tells us much about either personal distress or economic capacity.

It is not only possible but likely that we will strain the practical limits of our industrial machinery long before the unemployment rate gets much below 6 per cent. That is because years of punishing productive effort and investment—with onerous taxes, whimsical regulations, and chronic budget deficits—have left us with an ageing and inadequate stock of capital. If you have five million people who want to be typists and only four million typewriters, then what appears to be an employment problem is really a capital-formation problem. In the long run, it is theoretically possible to substitute labor for capital—using spades instead of tractors, or pencils instead of computers. But this lowers the real output and income per worker; it makes people poorer.

Last year, we heard a lot about how the idle capacity of 1977 would protect us against the inflationary consequences of big budget deficits in 1978 and 1979. The argument was ominously reminiscent of statements made in 1972. Now, the nation's industries are already using 83.5 per cent of their capacity, which is about where we stood in late 1972, and only three or four percentage points below the peak figure of the 1974 boom. Add the fact that some of that capacity may not be where it is needed, and the likelihood that some of our older capacity cannot be economically operated at today's energy prices, and there is little ground for faith in the popular argument that we can safely pump up total spending without fear of shortages and accelerating inflation.

Finally, we come to the chicken-and-egg problems. One of these is the idea

Mr. Reynolds is a vice president of the First National Bank of Chicago.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that rising prices are caused by rising costs. But costs are prices too, so we still need an explanation of why those prices rise at faster or slower rates at various times and in various places. The circle has to be broken.

Another causality problem is the quaint notion that demand creates its own supply: just increase spending, no matter by whom or on what, and the labor and capital needed to supply that demand will magically appear. On this theory, business expansion depends entirely on current sales volume, not after-tax real profits, and labor effort is constant or "given"—unrelated to real, after-tax income. The theory ignores incentives, and forgets that it takes years to put new capital capacity into place.

Putting it all together, these remarks on theory may help to suggest the outlook for small business, the stock market, and the economy.

The stock market continues to languish around the levels of a decade ago, although the capital of non-financial corporations has almost tripled in that time. The stock market is the single best indicator of the future return on invested capital, which in turn is both a cause and effect of prosperity. Economists who have always told us that the market is perfect, in the sense that it accurately reflects the best available information, have lately been suggesting that the market is wrong—that the outlook is really much brighter than stock prices suggest. Having closely observed the forecasting record of most economists over the past five years, I would rather bet with the market.

The chronic sickness of the stock market mirrors the impact of financing a huge government, the weakening of property rights, increased regulatory risk, and the past and prospective trend of profits and taxes on invested capital.

Federal budget deficits are not counter-cyclical; they persist even though inflation pushes more and more people into higher and higher tax brackets. Chronic deficits are directly harmful to stocks, because money invested in Treasury bills and bonds cannot be invested in stocks; and they are indirectly harmful, because the Federal Reserve helps to finance the deficits by buying more federal debt—increasing bank reserves and the money supply in the process. That raises the inflation premium contained in interest rates, drawing investors out of stocks and into bonds. The resulting shortage of equity capital is especially hard on small, new firms, since they are the first to be rationed out of other sources of funds.

Financing big government with taxes, rather than by borrowing and printing money, wouldn't improve the situation. If government claims an ever-increasing share of scarce resources, the private sector must get less. And the government is not yet listed on any stock exchange.

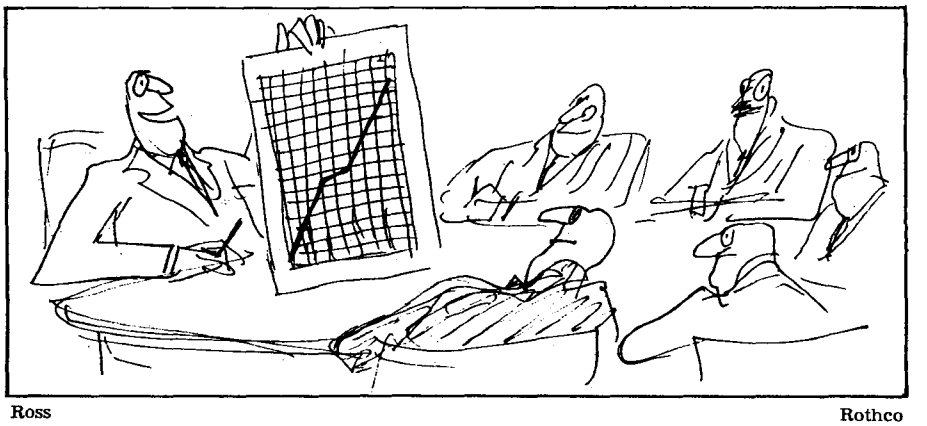
The property rights inherent in a stock certificate are increasingly insecure, and subject to partial expropriation by an army of elected and unelected officials. Managers can't manage and employers can't employ without following extremely detailed and variable instructions from Washington. As a result, owners of firms have lost even an indirect voice in management.

SMALL BUSINESS takes the brunt of the impact of capricious changes in the regulatory rules of the game. Large coal mines could adapt to the ineffective health and safety laws of 1969; hundreds of small mines simply folded. Large firms could handle the legal and acounting problems of ERISA; many small firms were forced to drop their pension plans, thus putting them at a disadvantage in the market for labor. The automotive giants can make the massive annual changes required to meet changing environmental, safety, and fuel consumption standards; American Motors and Chrysler will have a tough time keeping up. Large drug companies can meet the incredible reporting requirements of the FDA; small drug companies either fold or stop innovating. A new element has thus been added to tilt the scales in favor of big business. To survive, a firm must now be large enough to employ a battalion of lawyers, accountants, and lobbyists.

This is part of the larger issue of regulatory risk. Since any capital investment may be rendered illegal or uneconomic at any moment by a change in regulations, investments must now be more profitable than ever before in order to compensate for that regulatory risk. Instead, the after-tax return on investments is extraordinarily low. After adjusting for inventory profits, inadequate depreciation allowances, and inflation, corporate profits were actually lower last year than in 1966.

This is what the stock market has been saying—that the after-tax return on business' fixed investments looks terrible. And businessmen are listening, providing an appropriately anaemic expansion and modernization of plant and equipment. Even last year's news of a possible elimination of double taxation of distributed earnings did not help the market, because it appeared likely to be combined with still more severe double taxation of retained earnings through the capital gains tax—even when those capital gains are pure inflation, resulting in no increase at all in real wealth.

If we continue to tax the stuffing out of income from investments, we should not be too surprised that investment remains depressed. And if we do not add substantially to our productive capital, we will be unable to supply the expected 11 per cent increase in spending without a sharp acceleration of inflation, and we will be unable to provide sufficient employment and rising real incomes for a growing labor force. □



Ross Rothco

"Gentlemen, a Work of Art!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE OPEN QUESTION

The True Absurdity

WILLIAM A. RUSHER

IT IS EASY to understand the enthusiasm of so doughty a cold-warrior as James Burnham for U.S. diplomatic recognition of Red China (*NR*, June 23). For the present and the foreseeable future the Soviet Union is incomparably the world's worst aggressor and one of its only two superpowers. Everything else in the realm of grand strategy is—must be—secondary to that towering central fact. We Americans may not like the Chinese Communists (or Tito, or apartheid, or Portuguese socialism, or a great many other things) very much, but our attitude toward them must inevitably be colored, indeed dominated, by our necessary preoccupation with the Soviet Union's massive challenge to world peace and freedom.

If, therefore, Zbigniew Brzezinski's recent trip to Peking has succeeded in widening the already broad chasm between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, or results hereafter in better coordination of Chinese and American resistance to Soviet maneuvers in Africa and elsewhere, that is all to the good. And if an exchange of ambassadors between Washington and Peking (as distinguished from mere "liaison officers") would help matters along, it seems downright churlish to resist such "normalization" of relations on grounds of pure principle.

Unfortunately Burnham's cart is halfway to town before he realizes he left the pony back in the barn. As Burnham concedes, there is "one major difficulty" standing in the way of recognition: Peking's steadfast insistence that the United States must first 1) withdraw its present diplomatic recognition of the government of the Republic of China on Taiwan, 2) abrogate its 1954 mutual defense treaty with that government, and 3) withdraw all U.S. forces from Taiwan.

To his credit, once he acknowledges this obstacle Burnham does not merely crumple before it. Offering a splendid example to the lady who was at once violently inflamed and inflexibly virtuous, he asserts that "the appropriate answer by Washington is simple: 'Sorry, no deal.' . . . There is no need to hurry. After 29 years of non-recognition, one or two more won't matter." Then, as the intractability of the dilemma weighs in upon him, he dramatically lengthens the time-frame for resolving it: ". . . it can be shelved for at least a decade or two."

Which brings us back to square one.

In his grand tour of the problem, however, Burnham does less than justice to various of its aspects. For example, he insists it is "an obsolescent absurdity for the U.S. not to have full diplomatic relations" with the government that has ruled Mainland China for 29 years. That makes it sound as if *we* were somehow dragging our feet—whereas, as pointed out above, it is Peking that is delaying an exchange of ambassadors by imposing totally unacceptable preconditions.

Is it, then, our diplomatic recognition of Taipei that is the true "obsolescent absurdity"? Burnham (again to his credit) doesn't say so, but that has long been the contention of Red China's American enthusiasts. "It is absurd," they insist, "to continue recognizing the Taipei regime as the government of all China. Let us, therefore, withdraw recognition."

Unfortunately for this argument, its hidden premise is false. The United States carefully does *not* recognize the Taipei regime (the Republic of China) as "the government of all China." We barred it from signing the 1952 San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan precisely for that reason. Neither our mutual defense treaty with the Republic of China, nor any of the 57 other treaties and agreements we have with it, applies to any areas save those under Taipei's effective de facto control. To ignore that control, and "pretend" that the island of Taiwan and its 16 million prosperous people are under the control of Peking, would be the true absurdity.

The American people have revealed, in poll after poll, a far sounder perception of both the practical and the moral considerations than some of their leaders. By a wide margin, they favor diplomatic recognition of Peking—but not (by an equally wide margin) if the price is the abandonment of Taiwan.

BURNHAM seeks to put at rest any fears that the military conquest of Taiwan by Red China is a serious possibility, and no doubt he is right—for the present. But over the longer range his assurances are rather less persuasive. Without diplomatic ties with Washington, Taipei's ability to keep its defenses up to date would depend on the mercurial moods of successive American Administrations. Nor is invasion Peking's only option: a naval blockade (which every major power but the United States would honor instantly) could, if successful, starve Taiwan into submission without either side losing a man in combat. The United States would be forced to acquiesce or defy the blockade.

Least persuasive of all is Burnham's argument that Peking would not dare to face "the political consequences" of a military attack. Tell that to the South Koreans, the Tibetans, the Indians!

In sum, the precise rank of Peking's and Washington's envoys to each other has exactly nothing to do with the matter of their cooperation against the Soviet Union—which will grow in any case, if both countries want it to. What Peking must never be allowed to do, however, is provide this country with a fancier office in Peking at the price of the conquest of Taiwan. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Uncle Sam's HEAVY HAND IN EDUCATION

ROGER A. FREEMAN

IN THE SUMMER of 1976, the schools of Wethersfield, Connecticut were notified by HEW's Office of Civil Rights that their practice of having after-school choirs of fifth and sixth grade pupils separately for boys and girls violated federal regulations under Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. If the choirs were not merged, the schools would forfeit $70,000 in federal funds. Faced with the difficulty of persuading 11-year-old boys to be part of a girls' singing group, the schools disbanded their choirs.

A similar event in Scottsdale, Arizona ended on a more upbeat note. HEW's regional office, after clearing it with Washington, had declared school-sponsored father-son and mother-daughter events to be in violation of federal regulations because they would be "subjecting students to separate treatment." That order was sufficiently outlandish to generate newspaper stories which drew President Ford's attention. Reportedly he "blew his top," and he ordered HEW Secretary David Mathews to suspend the ruling forthwith. Thus, through presidential intervention, the residents of Scottsdale—and of other American communities—are no longer protected against the insidious influence of father-son breakfasts and mother-daughter teas. Which may be all to the good.

In the school year 1976-77, HEW ordered 12 of the country's largest school systems (including New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles) to transfer several thousand white teachers and principals to predominantly black schools and several thousand black teachers and principals to predominantly white schools. Though many of the affected men and women lived large distances away from their new assignments, the schools, faced with the alternative of losing many millions of dollars in federal funds, complied. The irony of it is that it was just a few years earlier that these school boards, yielding to insistent demands of black communities, had assigned the black teachers and principals to black schools in the first place.

Such events may strike us merely as crass misunderstandings of congressional intent or, at worst, as outrageous examples of bureaucratic overzealousness in social engineering. But they are more than nuisances that can be corrected by a telephone call or a stroke of the pen. Such freak actions are accidental manifestations of a dramatic shift in the control over the policies and practices of educational institutions. Only because of their bizarre nature did some of those events, not very important in themselves, gain wide attention.

Most of the crucial changes in policy-making that have taken place over the past dozen years are not spectacular enough to get headlines or even mention in the general media. Yet they significantly alter the purposes, goals, and methods of American education by shifting control from local administrators to Washington. They affect not merely extracurricular activities, but the very core of the educational structure and process.

FEDERAL RULES and supervision now govern virtually all actions with regard to faculty and staff—recruitment, selection, compensation, promotion, dismissal, and pensions. They also govern the construction, features, and use of buildings; the admission, advancement, and graduation of students, and the granting of financial aid; the nature and extent of research conducted on and off campus; and many aspects of both the curriculum and extracurricular activities.

Federal influence generally aims not at attaining academic excellence but at social engineering and the accomplishment of political goals. Furthermore, most federal controls were imposed not by Congress but by the Executive branch. Congress passes between four hundred and six hundred laws a year, but federal agencies issue twenty times as many rules and regulations. That's how the *Federal Register* has fattened from some three thousand pages annually during the New Deal to over sixty thousand pages (at a cost of $285 a page) in recent years. Federal agencies now crack the whip over some hundred thousand lower schools (elementary and secondary) and three thousand colleges and universities, public and private, from coast to coast. We are moving rapidly

Mr. Freeman is a senior fellow emeritus of the Hoover Institution at Stanford. This article constitutes his concluding report (slightly edited) on a survey conducted at the request of the Educational Reviewer, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

toward a national system of education; probably we are already at least halfway there. Consider the following statement.

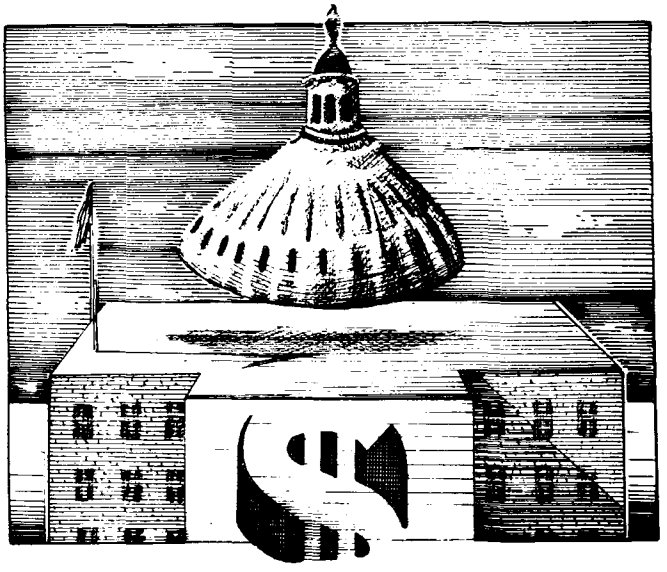
> It is the mature conclusion of the commission responsible for the issuance of this report that a continuance of recent and current trends in federal-state relations in education will, within a measurable period of time, transfer predominant responsibility for the control of education in the United States from the states and localities to the national government. Already we have traveled farther along this road than is generally realized.

This may sound as if it had been drafted quite recently, but the report was written in 1945 by a commission of the American Council on Education (ACE) and the National Education Association (NEA), the leading national organizations in, respectively, lower, and higher education. The report went on:

> If education becomes federalized in the United States it will not be because the people want this to happen. . . . Rather, national control of schools will come by a process of accretion and infiltration. This is how it has happened thus far. It will come, not because the people approve a policy of gradually shifting predominant educational control from the states and localities to the nation. Rather, it will result from responses to many small emergencies and from pressure of many special interests.

Those words—written at a time when, compared with today's situation, American education still appeared relatively free of federal control—were truly prophetic. It is ironic that it was these same groups—the American Council on Education and the National Education Association—and their allies which, in their pursuit of the federal dollar, brought about most of the controls they professed to abhor.

The NEA has been fighting for well over a century—as the ACE has for a shorter period—for "federal aid without federal control." It is a supreme irony that this massive drive produced pervasive control of schools and colleges with very little financial aid. For about a dozen years now, federal funds have held steady at between 10 and 11 per cent of the revenue receipts of schools and colleges (public and private). This means that the institutions must still raise about 90 per cent of their funds from state, local, and private sources.



Thus, with an investment of, currently, $14 billion a year, the Federal Government has acquired effective control over the educational establishment, which, with a $130-billion annual budget, six million employees, and sixty million "customers" (most of them full-time), is America's biggest industry—and probably its most influential in terms of the nation's future. More shrewdly than any stock manipulator, Uncle Sam has parlayed a small investment into an immense gain in power. When you include the added costs inflicted upon the institutions in return—the American Council on Education last year estimated them at between $2 and $4 billion annually at the college level alone—the net financial gain for education is small at best.

EARLY FEDERAL financial programs in education were simple, small, and nationally uniform; they imposed few conditions and allocated grants among recipients by mathematical formulas, giving federal administrators only limited discretion. Most programs were defense-related, or for colleges teaching agricultural and mechanical arts (at first they were given land grants; later, cash). When the National Defense Education Act of 1958 required an oath of loyalty to the United States and a disclaimer of membership in subversive organizations, many campuses protested against such federal interference with individual beliefs and conscience.

It was largely the vast expansion of federal research grants and contracts in the 1950s and '60s that brought federal power to bear on higher education. Federal administrators decided what should be researched, which institutions should engage in research, and which faculty members should conduct the studies. That seemed innocuous early in the game, when most such federal research was in the natural sciences. But as social science research—research on existing and proposed policy in economic and fiscal matters, welfare, education, taxation, etc.—multiplied, those researchers and institutions that were ideologically allied with the ruling powers in Washington became the beneficiaries of the grants. That in turn meant slim pickings for scholars who were less enthusiastic about, or even critical of, the expansion of certain social programs. Ambitious young researchers soon learned whence the gold-bearing streams flowed. If they wanted more and bigger grants, better jobs, and promotions they would hold a wet finger to the wind before announcing their fact-based findings and recommendations. "I wrestled with my conscience—and I won."

College administrators ignored the warning Harold Orland gave them in 1962 in his study of 36 universities and colleges for the Brookings Institution (*The Effects of Federal Programs on Higher Education*):

> Their wish for greater federal aid has blinded many educators to the very real dangers: 1) that academic values and objectives will be surrendered to those of a business enterprise or the more important goals of the nation, and 2) that some form of political control will, indeed, follow federal aid. Not merely opposing but the stronger step of refusing to participate in undesirable federal programs and policies is, at times, necessary to manifest and, thus, to maintain an institution's independence.

But there was far worse to come.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Federal administrators were already at work devising a new method by which they could govern recipient institutions more tightly. They found it in 1965 and have been using it ever since. No longer are federal funds allocated according to general rules and mathematical formulas on a nationally uniform basis. A university or school district applying for a federal grant or contract now has to submit to the regional HEW office a detailed plan on what it proposes to do in the years ahead. Such a plan must cover not only federal monies but the institution's own funds from all sources and must include every department in its entire structure. Plans are often routinely rejected by HEW, to be redrafted in keeping with the ideas of the federal administrators. Compliance with the plan to which the institution finally commits itself is then closely monitored.

The unwillingness or inability of institutions to come up with operating plans acceptable to HEW means termination of current federal grants and contracts—or at least suspension until they surrender—and debarment from future federal benefits. Having become dependent on a steady flow of federal money, institutions are unable to resist for long. If the flow of federal funds suddenly stops, major operations are gravely disrupted, and the institution may be forced to dismiss large numbers of faculty and staff. In most cases the mere threat of federal action sufficed. In the early 1970s many of the country's best known universities, which as research centers are more dependent on federal funds than most smaller colleges, had their grants suspended —until they capitulated. This served as a warning to others to yield gracefully.

In order to get a better idea of what has been happening across the country, in 1977 we conducted a mail survey among a random sample of institutions of higher learning and some high schools. Their response to our survey was less complete than we had hoped. Several administrators wrote that they were so overburdened with comprehensive questionnaires from federal agencies—which they had to answer at the risk of losing federal funds—that they simply could not supply answers to ours.* Thus the results of our survey are probably not comprehensive enough to permit mathematically precise conclusions on a national basis. But they are sufficiently broad to present a general picture of the contacts between federal agencies and the schools in recent years.

Respondents were universities, four-year colleges, and two-year colleges, slightly more than half of them private, of which one-half were church-oriented. More than half of the institutions had been contacted by a federal agency within the past three years with a demand to adopt, change, or abolish an operating policy or practice. HEW's Office of Civil Rights accounted for half of all contacts, followed by, in descending order of frequency, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), other HEW offices, the Department of Labor, OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration), the Civil Rights Commission, and the Internal Revenue Service.

Many of the contacts resulted from complaints of individuals or organizations to the relevant agency, but numerous others were undertaken on the agency's own initiative. About three-fourths of all contacts concerned Affirmative Action (hereafter, AA). The rest covered a wide array of subjects,

Federal administrators were already at work devising a new method by which they could govern recipient institutions more tightly. They found it in 1965 and have been using it ever since

from employees' safety to alleged underpayment to employees, overpayments to veterans, access to records, privacy, research grants, refunds to departing students, etc.

More than half of all AA contacts concerned ethnic minorities; the rest, women. More than half the minority complaints concerned blacks; the rest—in descending magnitude—"Hispanics," American Indians, and Asians. Specific actions demanded, proscribed, or criticized, with regard to faculty and other employees, included, in order of frequency: recruiting practices, hiring, compensation, advancement (promotion and tenure), termination, job classification, grievance procedures, fringe benefits, hours of work, facilities and services for the physically handicapped. Action with regard to students concerned admissions policy, financial aid, confidentiality of records, qualifications, curriculum, athletic activities, grading.

The essence of nearly all AA contacts was the advancement of a few—three or four—specified ethnic minorities and of women, to the detriment of "majority males." Well over half the institutions agreed to take the demanded steps; most of the others requested modification of the order, which was usually followed by lengthy negotiations. With few exceptions, the federal demands were accompanied by threats of sanctions, explicit or implicit: cancellation of grants and contracts, exclusion from future grants and contracts, withholding of funding, forfeiture of authorization of loans, and so on.

Here are quotes from two replies we received, typical of numerous others.

From one of the country's most prestigious universities:

> *1973*: The university's AA program was deemed inadequate and non-responsive to Executive Order 11246 as amended. The major reason for rejection was the lack of goals and timetables for the elimination of deficiencies (in employment of minorities and women). OCR [Office of Civil Rights] asked the university to submit an affirmative action plan for each department, departmental goals and timetables for the elimination of deficiencies, a university-wide

*One of the largest state universities responded in a manner typical of many other replies: "It seems I will not be able to fill out the questionnaire, because —— has simply an enormous range of dealings with federal agencies every year on all sorts of things. My own survey will, it now appears, use up bales of paper, and any complete response to your questionnaire would do likewise. Answering many of your questions would involve checking all the available answers, and supplying details would be a very lengthy process, so I guess we can't be of much help. However, I would like to see your results when you have compiled them. Thus I seem to have converted your request for assistance into one of my own. I hope you don't mind, and that all goes well with your project."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

salary equity review, and to establish an affirmative action committee.

1975: The university was asked to sign an agreement for a preaward clearance that it would correct deficiencies in its affirmative action plan which would be identified at a later date.

1976: Additional data were required as part of the university's affirmative action plan, including revised goals and timetables for faculty hiring. . . . Certain aspects of the programs were identified as inadequate. Monitoring systems in several different areas were required.

From a state university:

Our current AA plan is over four hundred pages and will be longer when we comply with the fourth requirement imposed by HEW in item 1 (an involved statement demanding revisions in AA plans re: work force analysis, availability analysis, utilization analysis, goals and timetables, a monitoring system measuring progress toward goals, a policy statement signed by the president, etc.). The university was offered a $1-million research grant, pending conformance. The university complied with all requests.

So much for our mail survey.

In 1976 the presidents of four major private universities in the District of Columbia—American University, Catholic University, George Washington University, and Georgetown University—issued a *Declaration of Independence*. In it, they indicted "governmental interference" for "disrupting higher education to a point where institutional autonomy is seriously threatened. . . . Federal spending is often used as a lever to move colleges and universities toward transitory or unachievable goals." Kingman Brewster, then president of Yale, charged in February 1976 that federal legislation and regulations showed a growing tendency to prescribe educational policies; he called for vigilance against "the use of spending power to extend regulations beyond the accountability reasonably related to the purpose for which the support is given."

When the University of California argued in a legal brief in 1977 that the order to admit Rita Clancy "strikes at the very heart of the academic functions of the university in determining who shall be admitted to study," it did not mention that most interference by the government sprang from ideas that had been spawned on university campuses.

Two major studies of federal-university relations were under way in the fall of 1977; the *Chronicle of Higher Education* reported on them under the heading: "Government and Higher Education: The Relationship Remains Troubled." In all likelihood those reports, when completed, will add two more to the many pleas directed at the Federal Government over the years. "Be reasonable, do it our way: give us federal money without federal control"—a completely useless appeal.

A SHORT REVIEW of a few pending controversies may provide an idea of the great diversity of current federal action in the field of education.

Under the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1976, medical schools had to waive their academic standards in order to admit American students enrolled in schools abroad, or else lose about $11 million in federal subsidies. Some of the country's leading medical schools, including Harvard, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Stanford, Cornell, and UC, banded together and announced in August 1977 that they would forgo the government's money rather than accept its conditions. Why, after caving in to every federal demand in recent decades, did the schools take such a strong stand here? For one reason, in contrast to AA conflicts they would lose, not *all* federal support, but only the additional funds mandated in the new bill. For another reason, virtually all the students involved are white—and the medical schools have enough trouble absorbing substandard minority students without accepting substandard white students as well.

As it turns out, the medical schools will have their way and lose no federal funds. In early October 1977 the chair-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man of the Senate Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research, Senator Edward Kennedy, branded the bill "an unwarranted intrusion by the Federal Government into medicine" and called the provision "a bad law which must be changed and changed soon, and it should never have been enacted." Congress amended the law accordingly in December 1977—which goes to prove that educational institutions *can* defeat invasions of their autonomy, *if* they stand together and are willing to risk the loss of federal funds. Unfortunately, our college administrators' backbones turned to mush during the campus revolts of the 1960s, and they have not firmed up since.

When Congress passed the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 it was widely believed that it only forbade active discrimination against physically handicapped persons in college admissions programs. But under HEW regulations issued on April 28, 1977, colleges will be forced not only to admit handicapped persons, but to undertake extensive structural and equipment changes in order to assure them access. Cost estimates range between $2.5 billion and $10 billion. Moreover, colleges must provide assistance to students who are physically disabled or disfigured, retarded, mentally ill, emotionally disordered, alcoholic, drug-addicted, etc. Last fall, Converse, a small private college in South Carolina, was ordered to hire an interpreter so as to enable a deaf teacher to take a graduate English course. Since a college cannot refuse to admit a student in the first place because he is handicapped, heavy burdens may be placed on educational institutions in years to come.

The rule, imposed by the Educational Rights and Privacy Act of 1974, that students must be given access to their personal files has made job referrals and references virtually meaningless. Professors and institutions do not intend to risk lawsuits for unfavorable remarks.

In July 1977, HEW ordered the integration of public higher education systems in six Southern states (Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Virginia). In doing so, it put predominantly black colleges under mandate to recruit white students, white colleges to enroll black students, until their enrollment becomes racially proportionate to population. This means that black colleges will for several years not be able to admit black students, or white colleges white students. What will those students do who can't gain admission to a college of their choice in their own state? They will go to one of the 44 states where no such restrictions exist. That could cause turmoil in higher education throughout the country and will ruin state systems in the six states thus singled out.

SUCH EXAMPLES could be multiplied. But they suffice to show that we are barely at the beginning of major upheavals in education—unless federal interference can be effectively restrained.

Though federal intervention extends to a wide range of activities, its main focus over the past five to seven years has become AA. A sizable literature on the subject has been published, both by its proponents—who, on the whole, wrote the laws and rules, and enforce them—and by its opponents, such as Nathan Glazer, George Roche, Richard Lester, Sidney Hook, Walter Williams, and Thomas Sowell. There is no need for me to restate the extensive arguments that have been advanced. But if we are to evaluate federal action in this field, some basic facts must be emphasized.

The obvious question is: How did we get into this? Federal rules have specified for nearly forty years that there should be no discrimination against any person on the ground of race, color, or national origin. Equal treatment regardless of race was the common note of all relevant rules, from Franklin Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 in 1941—extending to defense contractors rules similar to those adopted for federal employment in 1940—through the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which emphatically outlawed discrimination on account of

Educational institutions can *defeat invasions of their autonomy. Unfortunately, our college administrators' backbones turned to mush during the 1960s, and they have not firmed up since*

race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. (Sex was added at the suggestion of opponents who hoped to scuttle the bill; but they found that their strategy backfired—with a vengeance.)

A safeguard was added, in the Dirksen-Mansfield compromise (Sec. 703[j]):

> Nothing contained in this title shall be interpreted to require any employer . . . to grant preferential treatment to any individual or to any group because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin of such individual or group on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of any race, color, religion, sex, or national origin employed by any employer. . . .

This was reaffirmed by the Supreme Court in *Griggs* v. *Duke Power* (1971):

> Discriminatory preference for any group, minority or majority, is precisely and only what Congress has proscribed. . . . Congress has not commanded that the less qualified be preferred over the better qualified simply because of minority origins. Far from disparaging job qualifications, Congress has made such qualifications the controlling factor, so that race, religion, nationality, and sex become irrelevant.

"Irrelevant" is, however, exactly what race did not become. It had become painfully evident by then that a policy of color-blindness and equal treatment produces unequal results. Some regard this as the inevitable product of the wide discrepancies among human beings in traits such as intellectual capacity, aspirations, drive, strength, persistence, self-discipline, etc. Others feel that if a horse lags, that's proof that it is being handicapped, not that it is simply slower. They are deeply convinced that only deliberate discrimination can

(Continues on page 954)

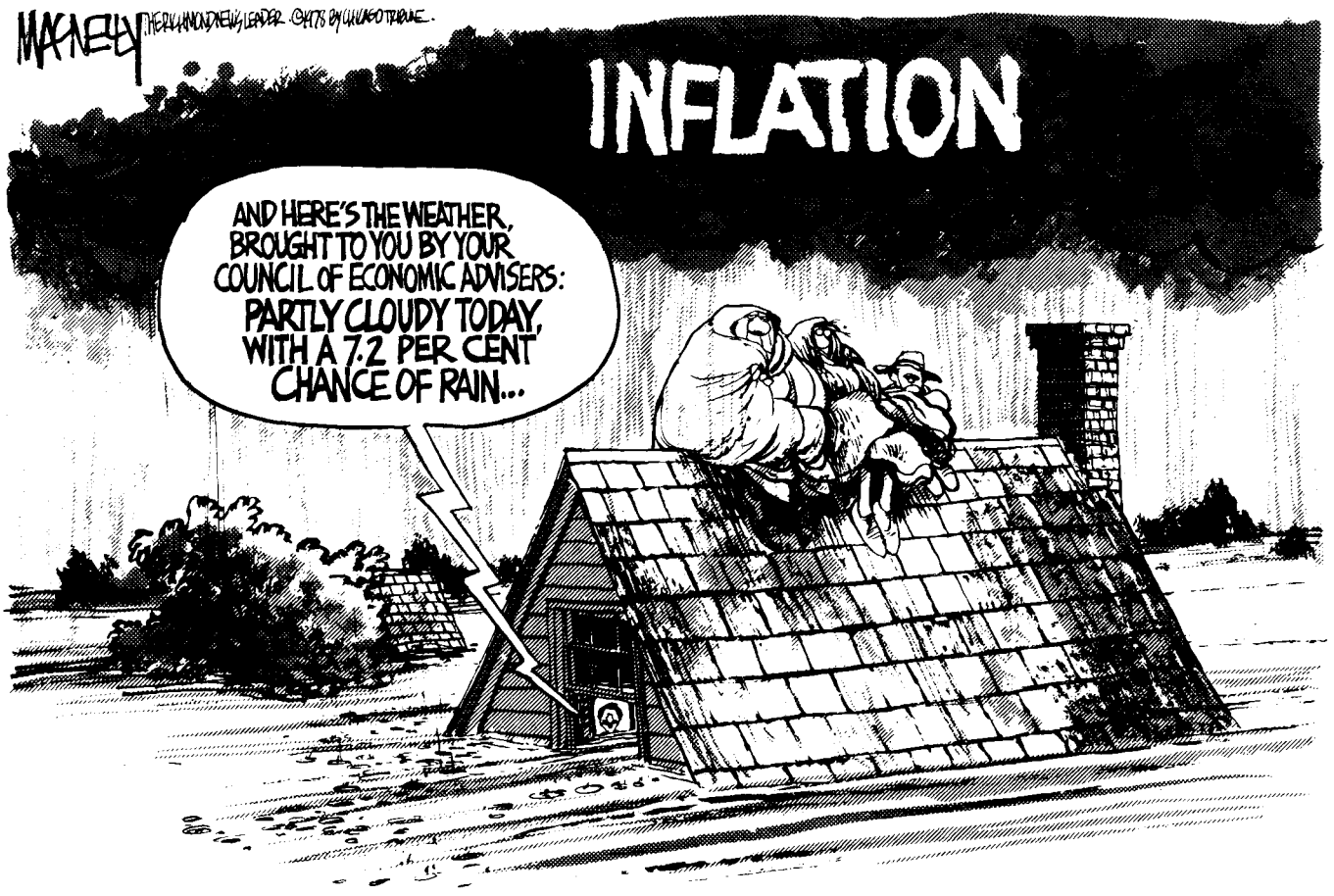
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

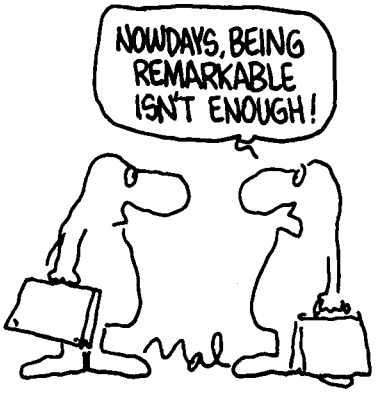
helo !!!!

Booze Blues

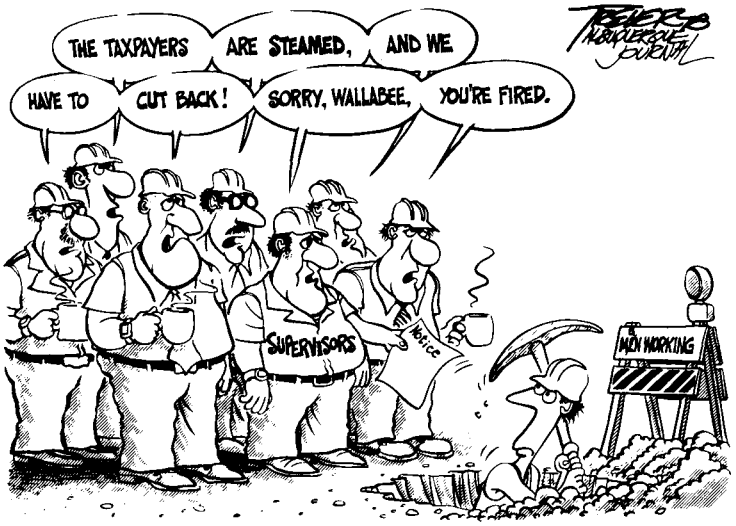
I've had to conclude
The executive men
I have business lunches with
Time and again
Are either not with it
Or else they're just meanies:
Not one's ever bought me
Above *two* martinis.

CORINNA MARSH


MACNELLY
INFLATION
AND HERE'S THE WEATHER, BROUGHT TO YOU BY YOUR COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS: PARTLY CLOUDY TODAY, WITH A 7.2 PER CENT CHANCE OF RAIN...



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"We had to do something. The FDA won't let us cook them."

Security Blanket?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Continued from page 951)

bring about—and that it has produced over the years—unequal results among the various ethnic minorities of which our nation is made up. Hence AA was needed.

The term AA was first used with reference to minority employment in President Kennedy's Executive Order 10925 (1961). It did not explicitly require an employer to give preference to minorities or women. Nor does the currently governing Executive Order 11246, issued in 1965 by President Johnson. But together with subsequent amendments it demands that federal contractors and other recipients of federal funds submit plans setting numerical goals, with timetables, on the employment of certain minorities and women, detailed by department, rank, salaries, etc. Such goals can usually not be reached *without* giving preference in hiring and promotion. And the failure to submit plans with "adequate" goals—or, subsequently, to live up to them—leads to suspension of and subsequent debarment from federal funds.

How was this done in the presence of equal treatment requirements? By the most outrageous perversion of language. "Equal opportunity" is interpreted as requiring preferences for some; "non-discrimination" calls for discrimination against the non-favored. In common language the term racist, which used to mean a person who classifies and treats persons differently according to their race, now is applied to persons who preach and practice color-blindness. An "equal opportunity" employer is a firm trying to hire minorities and women.

Why did the courts not restore the true meaning of the words "equal" and "non-discrimination"? Because the highest court in the land engaged in the same type of language perversion. When the Supreme Court outlawed racial segregation in schools in 1954 it was generally assumed that henceforth no child could be denied admission to a public school because of his race. But within 15 years it came to mean that a child *must* be refused admission to a school solely because of his race, if the child's color, white or black, is the same as that of the majority of children in that school. That was a long way from the "color-blindness" which Justice Harlan, in his famous dissent in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* (1896), held to be demanded by the Constitution.

Why were black children denied admission to predominantly black schools, white children to white schools? Because the existence of racially identifiable schools had become an embarrassment. Standard tests in basic skills show consistently lower achievement—by several grades—in black schools, despite equal teacher qualifications, smaller class sizes, higher per-pupil expenditures. A dozen years' experience with Title I programs has shown that there is only one way to disguise such discrepancies: to make racial identification of schools impossible by having a uniform racial mix in each school.

In lower as in higher education, it had been hoped that Title I programs (for "disadvantaged" children) and AA would generate a momentum that would shrink and finally abolish the discrepancies. But they didn't, and slipbacks and the reversal of trends in recent years have caused dismay and demands for more action. Water can be pumped uphill, but it seeks its own level when the pumping stops. So the pumping must continue indefinitely. AA, if it is to reach its goals, cannot be a temporary expedient; it must be a permanent practice of using different standards for favored and non-favored groups. The irony of it is that this is being demanded in the name of implementing the *equal* protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The only remaining obstacle to uniform racial mixing in *all* schools—which would wipe out any possible racial identification of schools and the resulting invidious comparisons—has been the reluctance of the U.S. Supreme Court to order busing across school-district lines. But in its Detroit and Denver decisions the Court left the door open to possibly changing its position some day.

Similarly, proponents of AA are convinced that discrepancies in the racial distribution of employment, especially in higher ranks, could have been brought about only by deliberate discrimination. We would thus assume that where no such discrimination has existed for decades or generations, no discrepancies would exist—especially among those who have shaped and are enforcing AA rules.

But the facts are to the contrary. Though racially equal treatment was established in federal employment in 1940—nearly two generations ago—discrepancies still are drastic. While specified minorities account for about 15 per cent to 17 per cent of the U.S. population, they provide 47 per cent of the lowest rank of federal employees (GS 1), 32 per cent in GS 2, but only 4.2 per cent and 3.8 per cent in the highest ranks, GS 17 and 18, respectively. In the federal courts, minorities account for 58 per cent in GS 1 to 4, 46 per cent in GS 5 to 8, but none in GS 16 to 18. In the White House, minorities account for 51 per cent in GS 1 to 4, 31 per cent in GS 5 to 8, and there are none in GS 16 to 18. It's not much different in the Department of Justice. Congress wisely enough exempted itself from AA, and its employment is not racially identified in published statistics. But in 1977, a House committee chaired by Representative David Obey found wide differences in average salary levels between men and women. Only 7 per cent of the staff was black, mostly in the lower ranks. The medium grade in all federal employment is GS 9 for whites and Orientals, 5 for Negroes and "Spanish-surnamed." It is GS 11 for men, 5 for women.

In common language the term racist now is applied to persons who preach and practice color-blindness. An "equal opportunity" employer is a firm trying to hire minorities and women

Why then does the Federal Government impose rules on schools, universities, and other employers which its own bureaucracy is unable or unwilling to observe?

Another question: It is psychologically understandable that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an applicant who was not hired, an employee who was not promoted, may attribute his failure not to his own shortcomings but to prejudice or unfair discrimination. But why should we accept that at face value?

True egalitarians of course believe the distribution of ability and talent among human beings to be inherently unjust; John Rawls provided the philosophical basis for this in *A Theory of Justice*. Thus the pull of redistributionism is strong among the bureaucrats. To be sure, even government cannot redistribute intelligence, beauty, strength, health, or various talents. But it can redistribute the fruit of individual efforts. Income redistribution has become the largest activity of our government, boosted by one of man's strongest emotions: envy. AA is but a small part of that drive.

Most of the AA conflicts in higher education during the 1970s have concerned women rather than ethnic minorities. Universities were still shell-shocked from the campus violence of the 1960s and anxious to grant all demands by black and Chicano groups. The *DeFunis*, *Bakke*, and *Clancy* cases illustrate how far university authorities have gone on their own in granting preference, probably as far as AA could push them and—depending on the eventual impact of *Bakke*—possibly farther than the courts will decide they can go while preserving some small residue of constitutional rights. Moreover, university heads had prided themselves on having treated women fairly all along. Administrators resented charges of sex discrimination and yielded to them reluctantly, at least in the early days of AA.

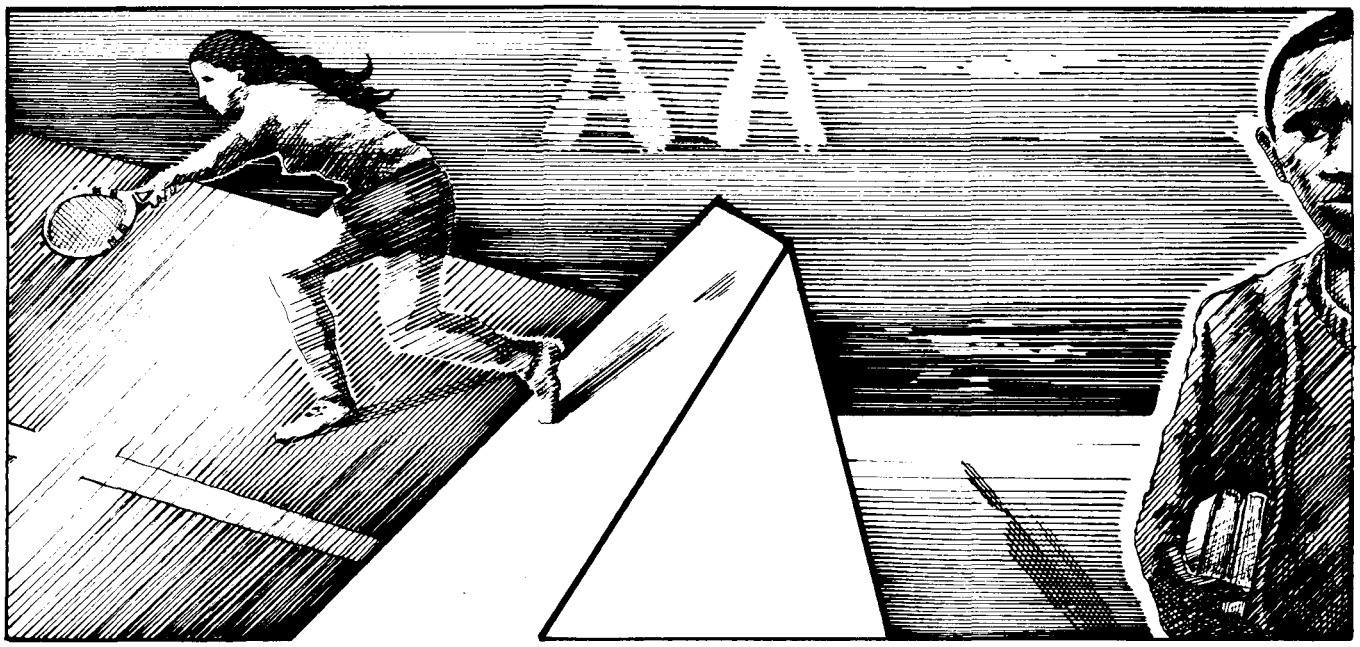
Most of the women's rights issues concerned bread-and-butter matters among the faculty and staff: rank, hiring, salary, tenure. There were questions of paid leaves for maternity and child-rearing—to the point where for reasons of equality fathers may be granted paternity leaves. Anti-nepotism rules—more accurately, anti-uxorian rules—had to be abandoned. Hundreds of lawsuits were filed. More often than not universities preferred to settle, usually with retroactive promotions and sizable back pay, rather than go through the expense of litigation.

As it turned out, most court rulings went against the plaintiffs, as a September 1977 survey by the *Chronicle of Higher Education* showed. Typically, courts held that they should not substitute their own judgment on academic matters for that of university authorities. On the whole, though, AA advanced the feminist cause.

STUDENT ISSUES, largely under Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 and regulations thereunder, brought numerous complaints and federal "or else" mandates. New rules call for academic admissions standards—such as grade point averages—to be uniform for public graduate schools and undergraduate schools with regard to sex, though not with regard to race. Actually, there were not many complaints from women regarding admissions. (Even as there are not many from ethnic minorities on discrimination in athletics: while some sports are imbalanced in terms of general population percentages, no AA complaint has ever been raised about under-representation of certain minorities in, for example, boxing or basketball.)

Now, however, opportunities in athletics must be equal for men and women; no classes in physical education—or anything else—can be scheduled separately on the basis of sex. Facilities and equipment must be equal for both sexes—which caused the University of Washington to install hair dryers in the men's locker room. Single-sex housing can still be offered, though it lost its appeal on most campuses years ago. Dormitory hours and visiting rules must be uniform for boys and girls, in the few institutions where such rules still survive at all.

Most of the federal effort in the matter of sex discrimination, though, has been focused on athletics; colleges are pressured to have more girls participate in active sports of all types. So far, these efforts have had indifferent success. It is a fact of nature—and not only among humans—that the male of the species is, on the average, stronger and swifter, has firmer bones, and is less easily injured. Whether more men



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than women are inclined to pursue active hard competition, and whether they are aggressive by nature or by social and cultural influence, is still controversial. Thus, though financial assistance must be offered on equal terms, there are, despite federal influence, still more athletic scholarships for men than for women. (As a redeeming virtue, women who participate in sports tend to be better scholars than men who do.)

Meanwhile, there has been no federal attempt to abolish athletic competitions open only to men or to women. A demand by women for open competitions would obviously be self-defeating: it would hand almost all trophies over to men —unless AA required that half the prizes be reserved for women. So, eighty years after *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*, "separate but equal" has not yet been entirely ruled out.

AA for ethnic minorities is far more complicated and involved than AA for women, its implications are farther-reaching and more ominous, and its destructive potential is greater.

THE DOMINANT principle of selection in higher education, for faculty and students, has always been individual talent and merit. It has been based on the competition of individuals for admission and of the institutions for the most highly qualified students. Admittedly, admissions standards have been softened for veterans and for the children of faculty, alumni, donors, and other VIPs. But those exceptions are numerically and academically insignificant. Different treatment on the basis of race, and race alone, is something else again, particularly in an age when we thought that we had come to a national consensus declaring racial discrimination intolerable.

To be sure, the relevant statutes (especially the Civil Rights Act of 1964), executive orders, official regulations, and guidelines are phrased in impeccably impartial language. They repeat dozens of times that all actions must be taken "without regard to race, color, religion, sex, and national origin." There is no suggestion anywhere that any group should be or could be given preferential treatment; in fact, this is specifically prohibited. There are a few casual references to minority employment, to deficiencies and under-utilization. Those terms are nowhere explained. A sizable section of the governing order, Executive Order 11246, defines terms, such as "government," "United States," and "contract," which need no explanation. But there is no definition of the term "minority," which is not self-explanatory and, in the enforcement, differs widely from the dictionary definition. Nor is "minority" defined in Revised Order #4 (December 4, 1971), the current charter of AA for educational institutions and other non-construction contractors.

Revised Order #4 does stipulate that all contractors must submit AA programs containing ten items, among them the "establishment of goals and objectives by organizational units and job classifications, including timetables for completion." There is no mention of what those goals should be. But the order reserves to the federal agency the right to approve or reject numerical goals and timetables proposed by the contractor.

In practice, the goal is always that a larger number of persons belonging to specified minorities be employed at specified ranks within two to five or more years. No pressure is placed on the contractor to favor those minorities, or women, in hiring and promotion. But there usually is no possible way he can reach goals satisfactory to the federal agency without according preferential treatment to the favored groups. Not to have spelled this out in the basic legislation or regulation is the height of hypocrisy.

Attempting to reach AA goals of having persons belonging to particular minorities placed at particular job levels by a pre-set time means that normal hiring procedures no longer apply. In other words, as far as the universities are concerned, the quality of faculty and staff will be lower than it would otherwise have been.

As far as the minorities are concerned, AA's aims for them in higher education are simple: more minority students and graduates, more—and higher-ranking—faculty and staff. The trend had been in that direction long before AA, but AA was intended to accelerate it. Some general statistics suggest it did so; more sophisticated analysis by black scholars calls that conclusion into question. Harvard's AA officer, Walter J. Leonard, found in his third annual report: "Not only have we not progressed a great deal since October 1941, but I fear we have moved backward from that date in a number of areas." Walter Williams and Thomas Sowell, both connected for some time with the Hoover Institution in research projects, doubt that AA has advanced the black cause. But the idea is still widespread that more energetic AA can and will achieve its goals, and so the demand for it persists.

MOST OF US have learned that today's Americans are the descendants of any number of racial and ethnic groups, *each of which* is a minority—that this nation is essentially a conglomerate. Nothing in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or in any other official document contradicts that belief. Only when they began contacting employers did federal agencies make it clear that they didn't mean just minorities, but certain selected minorities. In a clarifying amendment issued on July 12, 1974, these minorities were named: Blacks, Spanish-surnamed Americans, American Indians, and Orientals.

So the minorities were named—but they still have not been defined. It is left up to the individual whether he declares himself to be black—and to the employer or the federal agency whether it accepts him as such. For a distinction that can mean a great deal of money, this seems a rather loose procedure.

The trouble is worse with "Spanish-surnamed Americans." Why should persons with a Spanish surname be treated differently from persons with a French, German, Italian, or Russian surname? Why should someone who (or whose parents) speaks Spanish be treated differently from someone who speaks Turkish or Greek? Why should someone who attended a Spanish school be treated differently from someone who attended a Polish or Hungarian school?

The fact is that the phrase "Spanish surname" is merely a ruse. Marco DeFunis was refused admission to the University of Washington Law School despite his Spanish surname because he happened to be a Sephardic Jew. Nor, probably, would he have been eligible had he been a genuine Spaniard who came straight from the University of Madrid. "Spanish surname"—sometimes replaced by "Hispanic," "Latinos," "Spanish origin," etc.—is a euphemism for Chicanos,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and persons of American Indian descent who (or whose ancestors) were given Spanish names and learned to communicate in Spanish.

Most Orientals in the United States are of Chinese or Japanese origin. They have on the average achieved educational and socio-economic equality with whites; in some areas, superiority. In Hawaii, where Caucasians are one of several minorities, the Chinese are ahead of the whites financially. The achievement of the Japanese in overcoming prejudice is best illustrated by the fact that Hawaii's three highest elective officials (the governor and both U.S. senators) are of Japanese descent. Thus many AA programs no longer include persons of Chinese and Japanese descent—though they do include Filipinos.

The Chinese and Japanese have suffered discrimination, oppression, and persecution in the United States, as have many other nationality groups—the Jews, Irish, Italians, Poles, Greeks, etc. In one way or another, the 42 million immigrants who came here of their own volition, and their descendants, seem to have made it by their own efforts, the hard way, without AA or any similar program, with no unemployment or aid-to-dependent-children checks, with no food stamps or public housing.

Most of the descendants of the black slaves who were brought here from Africa made it too: 86 per cent of blacks in the labor force are gainfully employed, a large middle class has grown up among them, and there are many thousands of eminently successful professional, academic, and business people who are black. The problem is that the percentage of persons who have risen to higher achievement levels is smaller among blacks than among whites. This is equally true of the other ethnic group favored by AA: the earlier occupants

Can local governments, school boards, and parents be assumed to possess the judgment necessary to govern education, or is such wisdom an exclusive monopoly of Washington?

of the Western Hemisphere, whether they are called American Indian or Spanish-surnamed or Hispanic.

What AA is trying to do is to elevate the two major ethnic groups in the United States which are not as well represented at higher socio-economic levels as the rest. Those two groups are, by coincidence or otherwise, the only major block of residents who—or whose ancestors—did not migrate to the Western Hemisphere on their own initiative (at least not within the past ten to twenty thousand years): their forebears either lived here in pre-Columbian times or were shipped here against their will some 120 to 450 years ago.

The real question is whether AA is the best method, or an effective method at all, to achieve its benevolent ends. Judged by the unaided success of the other ethnic groups—mostly under extremely adverse conditions—and by the damage which AA may wreak on American society, we may have our doubts.

AA is still in its infancy. Many or most of the goals set in AA plans are still in the future. But if federal agencies proceed to enforce those goals, it will cause major disruptions in higher education. Academic standards, with regard to both students and faculty, will have to be drastically lowered.

The University of Washington asserted in the *DeFunis* case that if it weren't permitted to reserve a number of spaces for certain ethnic groups its law school would be lily-white. That may be an exaggeration: many blacks graduated from law schools before and without AA. Archibald Cox may have been closer to the truth when he said, at the Supreme Court hearing in the *Bakke* case, that there could be "no racially blind stand which will draw more than a trickle of minority students into the mainstream of professions." That is regrettable, but it may be preferable to the alternative: two groups of duly graduated and licensed professionals—those who are genuinely qualified and those who are qualified by color of skin or Spanish surname.

It was for a good reason that the Greeks and Romans depicted the Goddess of Justice with a blindfold over her eyes, so she would weigh and judge the *merits* of the case, not the *persons*.

MANY OF THE new laws and regulations appear quite sensible and unobjectionable as written, though their enforcement is not. The basic question is whether they are needed. Can state and local governments, boards of school districts and of colleges, and participating parents and civic groups be assumed to possess the intelligence and judgment necessary to govern education, or is such wisdom an exclusive monopoly of Congress and the Washington bureaucracy?

Federal intrusion into the policies and practices of educational institutions is part of a virtual takeover by government of most activities and decisions in American society. Affirmative action has particularly grave implications in the field of education because of its impact in lowering quality. But what never ceases to amaze is that there is no *law* that authorizes preferential treatment for some sectors of the population, and the sentiment of the American people, as demonstrated in numerous national polls, is overwhelmingly opposed to unequal treatment on racial grounds; and yet it continues to be imposed by social-engineering enthusiasts in positions of power. The courts, and especially the Supreme Court, have gone far astray from their assigned duty to *interpret* the laws, and have irresponsibly engaged in policy-making. Martin Shapiro called it judicial activism, and Raoul Berger named it government by judiciary.

Berger added that "the Court has shown in the past that the Constitution can also be twisted to frustrate the needs of democracy."

In his dissent in *DeFunis*, Justice Douglas declared: "Whatever his race, he had a constitutional right to have his application considered on his individual merits in a racially neutral manner." In *Bakke*, the Court as a whole moved a bit nearer to that position. Whether it continues in the same direction in its next AA decision will mean a lot for the future of American education. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BOBBSEY TWINS

Visit to Spyworld

S. L. VARNADO

It was a jolly, bright spring day, and the Bobbsey Family were speeding along the Virginia highway in their big limousine. Tall, athletic Mr. Bobbsey was driving; slender, pretty Mrs. Bobbsey was knitting; and in the back seat chubby, blue-eyed Flossie and Freddie Bobbsey were playing poker for low stakes. They were all *so* happy, for they were going on a visit to Spyworld, the newly opened CIA recreation area at Langley, Virginia.

Suddenly, little Freddie Bobbsey sat up and pointed excitedly out of the window. "Oh, goodie, goodie!" he cried. "We're almost there. Look at the big sign!"

Sure enough! In the green, rolling meadows stood a tall billboard that read as follows: "Welcome to CIA Headquarters. See Spies at Work in their Natural Habitats. Bring Your Camera. Cafeteria. Free Restrooms. Adults: $1.00. Children: 50¢. Spies Admitted Free."

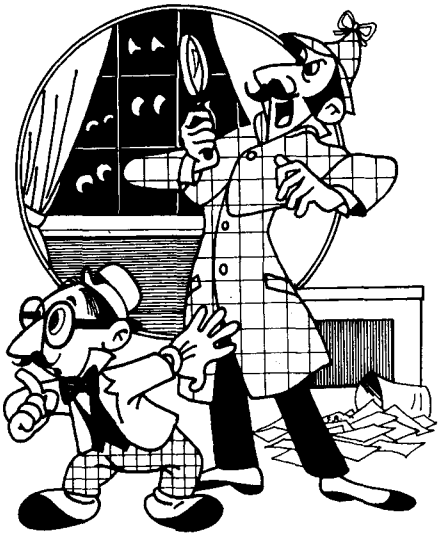
"Oh, Mommy," cooed blue-eyed Flossie Bobbsey, "I can hardly wait. I bet this will be a *lot* more exciting than Disney World. Do you suppose we will actually see secret agents wielding lethal weapons and stealing secret documents?"

"Ha, ha," laughed slender, pretty Mrs. Bobbsey. "I am afraid you will be disappointed, my dear. You are thinking of the *old* CIA. Nowadays we have an open, honest, and courteous CIA. In fact, many say that we now have the most polite intelligence service in the world."

"And that's something we can all be proud of!" said tall, athletic Mr. Bobbsey, driving through the big open gate and exchanging a greeting with the attendants.

In no time at all, the Bobbseys were mingling with the large crowd of tourists, visitors, and enemy agents of various nations who were enjoying the beauty and excitement of Spyworld. After the children had eaten their fill of popcorn and ridden on the Mata Hari Loop-the-Loop, Mr. Bobbsey suggested that they take one of the guided tours.

The friendly guide, who introduced himself as Percy Goodwinkle, took them first to the Information Center, a handsome brick building with thick car-



pets, tall glass windows, and endless shelves of books and magazines.

"This building is the heart of our operation," Mr. Goodwinkle explained proudly. "Within its arcane depths are housed thousands of bound volumes of such magazines as *Reader's Digest*, *Time*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *Ms.* Every day, dozens of carefully trained agents filter through all this material in search of information that may prove useful to our nation's interests. For example, I might mention a recent article that one of our agents discovered in *Reader's Digest*. It was titled 'How Russian Players Are Widening the Chess Gap.' Like all such information, it was coded and sent to the proper government officials."

"Excuse me," said Mr. Bobbsey, raising his hand. "What sort of training do agents have to undergo in order to do this work?"

"I'm glad you asked that," Mr. Goodwinkle replied soberly. "Most of our agents have terminal degrees in Library Science. Of course, we have a few specialized degrees in Comparative Literature, Theater Arts, and Home Economics. Without revealing anything, I can assure you that our agents are able to handle just about anything that comes along."

The next stop on the tour was the Laboratory—an antiseptically clean building where aspirin, antacids, laxatives, and prescription drugs were dispensed to ailing undercover men. There was also a brief stop at the Code Room, where a group of agents was seen to be hard at work on the *New York Times* crossword puzzle.

The tour ended at the Range.

"Now maybe we'll see some action," whispered little Freddie, who was getting bored. "These boys have to be able to shoot very accurately in this game."

"All our agents have to qualify once a year on the Range," Mr. Goodwinkle explained, "so they have to keep in practice. But look—we're in luck. Here comes James Bind, one of our best shots."

A tall, suave agent strolled out of the clubhouse carrying a driver over his shoulder. He approached the tee, took careful aim, and sent the ball flying down the fairway. A burst of applause arose from the spectators.

"Wasn't that magnificent?" said Mr. Goodwinkle. "Sort of gives you a comforting feeling to realize we have men like that on our side, doesn't it?"

Tired but happy, the Bobbsey Family drove back along the Virginia highway that evening. It had been a day they would long remember.

"Well," said Mr. Bobbsey to the twins, "do you still think you would like to be CIA agents when you grow up?"

"Are you kidding?" said blue-eyed Flossie. "When I grow up I'm going to work for NOW. That's where the real action is." □

Mr. Varnado is a professor of English at the University of South Alabama in Mobile.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ELECTIONEERING

Labor's Free Ride

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

IT BEGAN BACK in the Thirties, with the passage of the Wagner and Norris-LaGuardia Acts. Ever since then the government has been doing George Meany the favor of compelling millions of people to join labor unions, unmolested by the courts, Democratic or Republican Administrations, or the American Civil Liberties Union. But of all the abuses fathered by Wagner and Norris-LaGuardia, the most pernicious is the use by organized labor of union members' dues for political purposes.

The law is very clear on this subject. Neither unions nor corporations may make outlays from their general funds to candidates or political organizations. In those instances in which corporate executives have done so and been discovered, they have been prosecuted. Not so in the case of labor leaders. It has only been since organizations like the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation have entered the field that due process has been employed to restrain the labor moguls—and so far that restraint has been minuscule when compared to the magnitude of organized labor's violations.

The result has been Laborgate, the systematic and growing corruption of the electoral and legislative process by the union leadership.

When the House of Representatives gave its approval to the so-called Labor Reform bill, 257 congressmen voted yes. By one of those noncoincidental coincidences, those congressmen had received more than $4.5 million in campaign contributions from organized labor. (Most of that money went to Democrats.) The cost to Big Labor, therefore, was an average of $17,000 for each yes vote. Organized labor was even more lavish with the United States Senate, spending $6.1 million for the candidates of its choice, including $245,000 in a single primary.

Recently Common Cause published an itemized list of senators and congressmen who had received $10,000 and $15,000 contributions from the maritime unions. (The Speaker of the House was among them.) The purpose of those checks was to buy support for a bill, demanded by those unions, which would have mandated that 30 per cent of the oil shipped to the United States be carried in American-flag tankers, which have priced themselves out of the field because of the labor-imposed wage structure and survive only by federal subsidy. The bill would have cost the country billions of dollars in higher oil prices.

Or consider the National Education Association, 1.8 million strong, which openly and repeatedly boasts that it has the power to dominate the electoral process and dictate the terms of federal aid to education. In 1976, it contributed $630,000 in cash to candidates and many times that sum in manpower and organizational assistance. That cash outlay is the tip of the iceberg; as are even the labor contributions of more than $11 million to the Carter-Mondale ticket—or more than half what that ticket was legally permitted to collect from all contributors. Only the most naïve would argue that this money came from voluntary contributions.

The Rest of the Iceberg

Labor experts agree that for every campaign dollar contributed, the unions spend eight to ten times more for what they describe as "in-kind" services—paid for out of union dues—in salaries and other expenditures for campaign efforts. Some of those expenditures are legal, some illegal, but they are all improper and unfair to the union dues-payers who see their money used for political purposes of which they may or may not approve.

The machinists' union, one month before the last election, ordered its staff to drop the work for which it is paid in order to beat the drums for labor-endorsed candidates. And the unions distributed a million leaflets, printed at their own expense, to further the fortunes of candidates committed to organized labor.

Union dues—what the labor moguls call "soft money"—pay for the expensive computer print-outs which have become essential in political campaigns; for the tens of thousands of salaried union employees who double as precinct workers; for the doorbell ringers; for the more than twenty thousand phones which made more than ten million calls in the last election; for electioneering issues of union newspapers; for the car pools which take committed voters to the polls; and for the time spent by top union officials who hold positions on the Democratic National Committee.

Raping the Treasury

The *National Journal* reported four months after the 1976 election: "Admonitions [printed] to 'vote Democratic' did not have to be reported [by the unions as a campaign contribution], nor did direct advocacy of a specific candidate if the basic purpose of the communication was not political.

"Virtually every newsletter mailed to [union] members in September and October included material praising Carter or criticizing Ford, usually with a picture of Carter on the cover. Almost none of this was reported to the Federal Election Commission [FEC], presumably because the material appeared in regular publications that normally report on union business."

But the unions have not stopped at this rape of their treasuries. In case after case, union members are "assessed" for political contributions and warned that if they do not bend to this compulsory fund-raising they will lose their union standing—which means loss of employment. When complaints were filed with the FEC, they were ignored until the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation brought suit in the federal courts and compelled the FEC to act. The FEC is now reluctantly suing the AFL-CIO, which, if it loses, will have to endanger the solvency of its multi-billion-dollar treasury by paying a $10,000 fine. □

Mr. Toledano is a syndicated columnist.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEAMS OF LIGHT

God and Man in Kiev

T. COLEMAN ANDREWS III & RONALD F. DOCKSAI

(Two young conservatives journey through the Soviet Union and find that, despite detente and calls for human rights, religion is, well, twisting slowly in the wind.)

Bogdan Khmelnitsky Ploshchad' is almost as difficult for two semi-Russian-speaking Americans to pronounce correctly as it is to look at. It is the major thoroughfare of Kiev, the Ukrainian city billed by the Soviet tourist bureau as the USSR's happiest city. It is also called, variously, the most cultural city and the most floral city, by these same people. Soviet hosts traffic in superlatives.

The buildings supporting and surrounding Bogdan Khmelnitsky Square are falling apart. We are told that they were constructed according to the most modern building techniques; that these modern builders used the bravest steel and the finest concrete in all the Soviet Union. But we are betting that they used a compost of chalk and graham cracker. At least, one good rain and these brand-new buildings look ten years old.

Even the pigeons here look depressed. They are grey, like the buildings and the people. You see them resting eternally on Lenin's head, or pecking their way through the undergrowth of green and brown weeds the Soviets call gardens. But the pigeons are free, and they are the only free living things one finds in Kiev.

Official Revisionism

We found ourselves in this capital of the Ukraine toward the end of a 17-day mission which also included Moscow, Alma Ata, and the inner reaches of Siberia. We had spent much of the time asking a lot of embarrassing questions about religion, and by this time we had learned a lot. We had learned how remarkably adept the Kremlin has proved at insulating its population from the contagion of free ideas from points west. No less effective is the continuing revision of the thoughts of Communism's Founding Fathers in order to meet the needs of modern Soviet society.

A case in point is an article written by Lenin in 1905, called "Socialism and Religion." The original version of the article includes the following interesting paragraph.

> Religion is one of the forms of spiritual oppression which everywhere weighs down heavily upon the masses of the people, overburdened by their perpetual work for others, by want and isolation. Impotence of the exploited classes in their struggle against the exploiters just as inevitably gives rise to the beliefs in a better life after death as impotence of the savage in his battle with nature gives rise to belief in gods, devils, miracles, and the like. . . . Religion is opium for the people. Religion is a spiritual booze, in which the slaves of capital drown their human image.

One gets the definite impression in reading this that the author does not approve of religion. Nevertheless, the versions of this article now available in popular bookstores along Bogdan Khmelnitsky Square do not include the above paragraph.

Many of our hosts denied that Lenin ever wrote the paragraph. When we were finally able to produce a copy of the original, courtesy of the Docksai World Information Service, we were told that their version was a printer's mistake, and that the deletion would be undeleted. When? we asked. Soon, they said.

Works similar in content and tone to Lenin's phantom paragraph are seldom seen these days in Kiev or anywhere else in the USSR. The official Soviet line—which is pushed at every opportunity—is that there is complete freedom of conscience and religion in the Soviet Union. When we expressed our nagging skepticism, our hosts redoubled their efforts.

These efforts culminated in our visit to the Vladimir Cathedral of the Russian Orthodox Church, the largest officially recognized religious organization in the country. To our surprise, the visit included a long, private dinner/discussion with Exarch Filaret, the ranking priest in this church. It proved to be the most telling part of our journey. We learned then that God is alive and well in the Soviet Union—but He is not to be found within the officially approved church structure.

Uprooting Religion

The church's position in Russian society has been tenuous ever since the October Revolution of 1917. Lenin first denounced and then officially tolerated the existence of organized religion, while unofficially sanctioning the persecution of religious leaders and the destruction of church buildings by his more zealous followers. Within this tradition, Stalin launched in 1929 the first vigorous public campaign to eradicate all vestiges of religious life. Since then, Soviet leaders have done everything to uproot religion in a culture where it nevertheless remains firmly rooted.

The 1977 Party line proclaiming that under Soviet Communism citizens are granted constitutional protection to practice religion masks the latest effort toward the quiet destruction of all things religious. "Codified camouflage," was the description a U.S. official/poet working in Moscow gave the new Soviet Constitution. In fact, Article 52 of this document guarantees that "freedom of conscience, that is, the right to profess any religion and perform religious rites . . . shall be recognized for all citizens." Yet, the underlying administrative regulations carried out in the name of the Soviet Constitution

Mr. Andrews was a Special Assistant at the White House during the Ford Administration and is currently doing graduate work in business at Stanford University. . . . Mr. Docksai is Chairman of the Council for Inter-American Security (CIS) and is finishing his PhD in government at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

make a mockery of such protection.

Churches must register with the state and gain state approval to operate legally. It is against the law to proselytize or give religious instruction to the young. Religious institutions may not disseminate religious materials or in any way organize or carry out social welfare work. The Committee on State Security (KGB) maintains a directorate charged with monitoring religion.

In Kiev (as we learned by talking to young people outside the Establishment) there are fewer churches than there are in Moscow, and in Moscow—a city of eight million inhabitants—there are only forty active places of worship. During the past sixty years, quite a number of churches have either disappeared or been transformed into museums. Data are hard to come by, for obvious reasons, but most estimates hold that about 10 to 15 per cent of Soviet city-dwellers can be counted as practicing believers, and double that percentage for the rural population.

Those Who Watch

These believers, however, do not appear to be the wave of the future. Vladimir Cathedral is a case in point. Arriving for Friday evening services, we found within the Cathedral perhaps fifty or sixty worshippers. With a couple of exceptions, these worshippers were all tired *babushkas*—old women in the evening of their lives. As Hedrick Smith observes in *The Russians*, these old women can afford to profess their beliefs publicly, because the state has given up on them.

We asked one of the old women if the young or those with a stake in society ever worship at formal services, and were told that they could not afford to do so for fear of ostracism or harassment. "Occasionally they come," she said, "but always they leave before those who watch arrive."

"Those who watch?" we asked. "You mean the tourists who come to look?"

No, she meant the Party functionaries who are sent to keep an eye on things, the inconspicuous note-pad bearers who write down the names or other distinguishing features of the young churchgoers. Such notice could mean that an expected promotion in your trade union suddenly, mysteriously, does not come. It could mean that the vacation card which lets you spend time outside the city in which you reside is not approved this year. It could mean that your wife is harassed at work or gets threatening phone calls at home. It could mean many things. It gradually became clear that the campaign against religion was more subtle and more extensively organized than is generally realized in the West.

We expected to find in Exarch Filaret an embattled priest, struggling to preserve a remnant or perhaps to ensure that future generations might yet snatch a thumbnail from the ashes. But that image was quickly dispelled. The Exarch greeted us amidst luxurious surroundings. No chalk and graham cracker here. All Vinson marble and polished cherrywood.

The Exarch is a jolly old fellow. Think of the opposite of Solzhenitsyn, and you have the Exarch. No furrowed, intellectual brow or heavy facial lines of any kind to remind one of the harder side of existence. He has the face of a conniving Santa Claus, in orange-red velvet habit and cap.

The Exarch treated us to a dinner of the finest seafood and caviar, with plentiful liquor—certainly the best and in fact the only good meal we had while in the care of our Communist hosts. Yet nothing about the visit was as astonishing as the Exarch's answers to our questions.

Our discussion with him centered on human rights and religious toleration. As a leader of the largest officially recognized church in the Soviet Union, the Exarch is an important man. Here are excerpts of our discussion.

On the subject of mandated instruction of atheism in Soviet schools: "I find no contradiction in the fact that our schools teach atheism but not religion. After all, our people are free to choose to be religious."

On President Carter's human rights policy: "I would like President Carter as a Christian not to let religious matters related to his understanding of human rights interfere with good relations between our countries. After all, religious believers here live in harmony with our non-believing brothers."

On the withering of religion under Communism's rule: "The fact that my brothers in the Party wanted so much for you to meet with me serves as ample proof that the Church here is alive and flourishing."

On Father Dmitri Dudko, Solzhenitsyn's priest, who was banished from Moscow and shipped off to the hinterlands for "anti-Soviet activities": "How else is one to deal with such criminals who break our country's laws? . . . He is like the other renegades who defile our faith by working against the interests of all of the Soviet peoples. Nothing is too harsh in dealing with these renegades who make it hard for everyone else."

On the role of the Church in the USSR as he sees it: ". . . We must show that the Christian concept of freedom of conscience is not the bourgeois un-

(Continues on page 977)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Socialist/Traditionalist

Sage Brush
DALE VREE

IN *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, Harvard sociologist Daniel Bell delivered a devastating critique of our hedonistic culture from the perspective of traditional Western values. Not stopping there, he suggested briefly that our crisis is a spiritual one requiring a religious answer. He promised to elaborate in a future book.

That an academic of the highest rank should be saying such unfashionable things is remarkable, but that the academic in question should be a Jewish socialist who voted for McGovern in the 1972 election is phenomenal. Bell is often lumped with the "neo-conservatives," many of whom are former or nominal socialists who voted for Nixon in 1972 and/or who are finding ways of giving capitalism one, two, if not three, cheers. But Bell is not that kind of neo-conservative. Indeed, Bell tells me he is preparing an article for *The Public Interest* on why he remains a socialist in economics while being a conservative in culture.

Bell delivered the Hobhouse Memorial Lecture at the London School of Economics in 1977. That lecture ("The Return of the Sacred?") is a *précis* of his promised book; it was published in the December 1977 *British Journal of Sociology*. Bell is troubled by profanation, which is the quest for individual liberation from all restraints and the concomitant attempt to choke off the sacred anywhere and everywhere. The "Great Profanation" began in the seventeenth century and has three aspects which together constitute what Bell calls "modernity": 1) "The growth of the idea of a radical individualism in the economy and the polity, and of an unrestrained self in culture." 2) Transferring from religion to the expressive arts the responsibility for dealing with restraints on impulses. 3) "The decline of the belief in Heaven and Hell, and the rise in the fear of nothingness, or the void, in the realm beyond life. . . ."

Bell states that the great historic religions have been religions of restraint, but they have been hounded by subterranean heresies—Dionysiac, Manichean, Gnostic, and the like. Bell focuses on two of the current alternatives to traditional religion: aestheticism and political religion. Aestheticism, which intends "to reach the sublime through the debauched," is an inverted messianism enabling the demonic to become "polymorph perverse."

Political religion is a contorted messianism that promises to immanentize the eschaton. To my mind, it is interesting that Bell identifies the culprit here as Marxism, not socialism. It is too often forgotten that Marxism is only one kind of socialism; there are others: utopian, guild, feudalistic, left-fascist, syndicalist, social democratic. The essential point about Marxism is that it is messianic; it is predicated on the "death" of God and the translation of (properly messianic) Heavenly promises into (illegitimately messianic) earthly promises. Historically, socialism (of whatever variety) has too often fallen prey to the secular-messianist temptation. And yet there is an atheistic variant of capitalist advocacy which has bought into this temptation too. One need only peruse the literature of the radical libertarians to see it. Like the Left anarchists, many of these libertarians believe that virtually all our problems can be traced to the institution of government, the dismemberment of which becomes an eschatological imperative.

Gnostics and Others

The heresies mentioned by Bell have been spoken of by Eric Voegelin largely in terms of Gnosticism. In his work *Science, Politics, and Gnosticism*, Voegelin names "progressivism, positivism, Marxism, psychoanalysis, communism, fascism, and national socialism" as Gnostic movements. Notably absent from that very inclusive list is libertarianism—and conservatism in general. But there is a danger here in that, from the viewpoint of traditional religion, the *fundamental* problem is not just Gnosticism but idolatry in general. The "individual," the ego, or the self may just as easily be an idol as some collectivity or esoteric doctrine. This is apparent even within the history of Gnosticism: just as there is a radically ascetic and collectivist kind of Gnosticism, so also is there a libertine and anarchistic form.

Moreover, while I would grant that a (true) Marxist is necessarily a secular-messianist, and that the radical libertarian need not be, yet I would deny that every "progressive" is necessarily a secular-messianist. Remember that Bell is a socialist (a "progressive"?) and yet anti-Gnostic. Although Voegelin does not claim to be an orthodox Christian, he can be used to justify the notion that to be a true, non-heretical Christian one must be politically conservative. But since there is no political orthodoxy obligatory for all Christians, that notion is no more plausible than the one promulgated by the World Council of Churches elite that to be a Christian one must be a radic-lib.

The Clearing Ahead

Bell asks if there will be a return of the sacred. "Of that," he answers, "I have no doubt." Is Bell referring to the trendy movements—Zen, tantra, I Ching, et al.? No, these are not religions, but merely cults resting "on some idea of a *magical* moment" (italics his). Bell is interested in the real thing.

Bell believes we stand "with a clearing ahead of us. The exhaustion of Modernism, the aridity of Communist life, the tedium of the unrestrained self, and the meaninglessness of the monolithic political chants, all indicate that a long era is coming to a close." The self-infinitizing spirit may have become overextended: "We are now groping for a new vocabulary whose keyword seems to be limits: a limit to growth, a limit to spoliation of environment, a limit to arms, a limit to torture, a limit to *hubris*—can we extend the list?" But, of course, religion is all about limits. And I'm sure God was the Author of Limits (which is not necessarily to say that He endorses Bell's politics). But for those who understand that God often writes straight with crooked lines, the realization that modernity may actually be paving the way for a "return of the sacred" can only bring a warm and hearty chuckle. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vetoing Bureaucrats

The Lawmakers

M. STANTON EVANS

LAST TIME AROUND we talked about attemped bureaucratic usurpations in the realm of gun control—the persistent effort of Executive agents to propagate rules and regulations not only different from, but contrary to, the will of Congress.

This problem of Executive legislation has become pervasive in the Federal Government, so much so that it is not inaccurate to suggest the job of writing federal law has become a prerogative of non-elected bureaucrats. By the simple device of publishing rules and regulations in the *Federal Register* (at a rate of better than 70,000 pages annually), Executive agencies can create more law than Congress—with its committee hearings, floor debate, and other cumbersome procedures—ever dreamt of. The legislators may deal in general concepts, but the actual guidelines, rules, and standards by which we are required to live are written by anonymous functionaries in the bowels of bureaucracy.

The rationale for this procedure is that Congress cannot possibly master the complexities of technical subjects such as occupational safety, environmental standards, or energy policy, and so is unequipped to engage in detailed tasks of regulation. The fine-tuning must be left to technical experts, operating within a general framework set by statute. Which means, among other things, that the more we attempt to regulate our economy, the more we consign our fate to a group of faceless technocrats whose accountability to the people, or even to Congress, is negligible at best.

Utilization of this law-writing power in the Executive branch often leads to the kind of performance suggested in our discussion of gun control, with bureaucrats not merely ignoring but totally inverting the known intent of Congress. Other examples in a similar vein include exotic and capricious safety regulations, impossible-to-attain anti-pollution standards, busing of schoolchildren for purposes of racial balance, and imposition of racial, ethnic, and sexual quotas—all of which have been promoted by Executive departments despite contrary statements from Congress. (See "Freedom from Quotas," *NR*, December 23, 1977.)

As might readily be imagined, this usurpation of legislative functions has irritated certain members of Congress, who have in consequence been trying to devise some method by which the legislature can once more be in charge of legislation. One promising effort in this direction is HR-959, submitted by Representative Elliott Levitas (D., Ga.), and co-sponsored by more than 150 members of the House. This bill embodies the "legislative veto" concept which has stirred anxiety among the bureaucrats and other friends of Executive government and has been subjected to vigorous challenge in the federal courts (the Supreme Court has upheld the principle).

SO-CALLED legislative vetoes have frequently been written into bills concerning the behavior of specific departments. Recently, for example, Congress attached a veto provision to the authorization bill for the Department of Housing and Urban Development specifying that any regulations proposed by HUD would have to lie before the legislature for ninety days. If during that span either house of Congress should pass a resolution of disapproval, the regulation would be prevented from going into effect. It is estimated that fifty other bills currently pending before the Congress contain provisions of this sort.

Levitas' HR-959 would systematize the legislative veto concept and apply it across the board to all departments of the government. It would submit all bureaucratic rules and regulations to the veto process, providing that if either house of Congress negates a suggested regulation within a period of sixty days, and the other does not dissent, the regulation would be prevented from going into effect. HR-959 also contains a rather complex procedure for forcing reconsideration of regulations already on the books.

More comprehensive still is S-2011, proposed by Senator Harrison Schmitt (R., N.M.) and co-sponsored by Senators Bartlett, Garn, Goldwater, Hatch, Helms, Laxalt, McClure, Thurmond, Tower, and Zorinsky. This bill, entitled the Regulation Reduction and Reform Act, would not only clamp a legislative veto on Executive agencies, but would also require affirmative votes by Congress, in certain cases, before a bureaucratic edict could turn into law.

Among other things, S-2011 would put the bureaucrats through a gauntlet of feasibility studies. An Executive agency seeking to promulgate a regulation would be required: 1) to publish a cross-indexed reference to all other rules and regulations touching on the subject matter; 2) to conduct an economic impact analysis weighing the consequences of the rule for workers, businessmen, and consumers; and 3) to produce a "paperwork impact analysis" and "judicial impact analysis" spelling out the implications of the rule in terms of record-keeping and legal consequences.

Finally, S-2011 would require that, where rules and regulations are especially costly, or potentially harmful in their impact, an affirmative vote by both houses of Congress would be required to put it into effect. That is, the rule would be treated candidly as what it is—a piece of substantive law that should receive the concurrence of both houses of the legislature before it actually becomes binding on the American public.

HR-959 and S-2011 between them would go far to reassert the authority of Congress—and the people—over the process of making our laws. And if it be objected that these procedures would slow the pace at which new regulations come into being, mark that down as yet another reason that such reforms should be adopted. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rewitness

Witness
By Whittaker Chambers
Gateway, 808 pp., $6.95

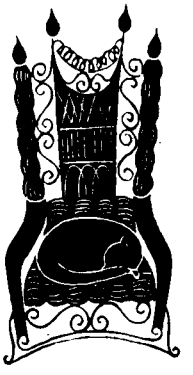
GERHART NIEMEYER

Apart from the praiseworthiness of Henry Regnery's initiative, what is the meaning of re-publishing Whittaker Chambers' *Witness* a quarter of a century after the fact? One can probably dismiss as coincidence the simultaneous appearance of an exemplary piece of research, by Allen Weinstein, into the problem of Hiss's guilt. Other, similar efforts may still be in store, for we do feel a periodic urge to rehash this case.

Within the last hundred years, three long-drawn-out trials—those of Dreyfus, Sacco and Vanzetti, and Hiss—have brought into collision formidable political forces. There is a myth that legal verdicts can shape the historical course of nations. I doubt it. Dreyfus—sentenced, degraded, and deported—was eventually tried again, acquitted, and rehabilitated. It once seemed that this legal victory enabled the Left permanently to cripple the French Right. Later, however, Sacco and Vanzetti were condemned and executed, and Hiss imprisoned for perjury, but the Left emerged with its strength and convictions unscathed—in fact, enhanced. The Sacco and Vanzetti case, legally closed, remains morally and politically open. Hiss, after his prison term, was readmitted to the Massachusetts bar, and his innocence remains an article of faith to true progressive liberals. So we find that legal decisions do not move political mountains, at least not against the Left; one may leave the picking of fine legal points to the historians.

Leaving aside its account of the case as such, what has *Witness* now to say to the nation? Its message is not, I think, philosophical. The philosophical problem of Communism has been adequately vented for many years. If it is no longer on the agenda today, one cannot expect the re-publication of this book to beat new life into inert minds. I would submit, then, that the relevant contemporary context is the appearance of the Russian cultural heroes, led by Solzhenitsyn, fighting their way out "from under the rubble." Against the light of their faithful and militant suffering, there appears in our past the silhouette of Whittaker Chambers.

Why had we not noticed him before in his true significance? The answer lies, partly, in the history of the case. Chambers, having broken with Communism and failed to take his fellow Communists along, finally attacked publicly the apparatus to which he had belonged. But after that fateful committee hearing of August 25, 1948, Hiss mounted a gigantic campaign to destroy his accuser. The hunter became the hunted. For years Chambers was subjected to slander, innuendo, defamation, to hints of insanity, alcoholism, perversion, instability; all so that the eventual sentencing of Hiss could appear as the tragic fall of a knight in shining armor, while the sinister villain escaped all formal punishment (though remaining under a permanent cloud). The liberals to this day hold that the jury got the wrong man; others accept the verdict while ignoring Chambers.



In a deeper sense, though, this country was unable to fathom the motives of either Hiss or Chambers. A man of Hiss's education, achievement, connections, and personal presence simply could not be a Communist, and, even if a Communist, never a traitor. On the other hand, a man of Chambers' checkered past—with his disheveled appearance and emotional temperament—could be anything: traitor, informer, villain, psychopath—a weirdo. Neither an educated man's adherence to Communism nor a Communist's defection from the "faith of a lifetime" was understandable to more than a select few.

There were other reasons as well. Hiss struck everyone as the epitome of the impeccable American college man. Chambers, by contrast, seemed somehow un-American. He spoke and read a number of foreign languages, among them fluent German, and even Romani, the Gypsy idiom. He was at home in history as Americans typically are not. Details of ancient Greece and Rome were living and real to him. He knew intimately the stories and characters of Russian revolutionaries, even those of the past. Beyond that, the whole of history, the concept of preordained destiny, preoccupied him constantly, unlike most Americans, who have never fed on Hegel. This side of Chambers' personality impressed even his fellow Communists so strongly that Hiss later showed genuine astonishment on learning that Chambers was indeed an American. Had Chambers not worked in the Communist underground and had he not been smeared beyond recognition by the Hiss forces, the history books might have described him in

Mr. Niemeyer is a professor of government at the University of Notre Dame.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INTRODUCE YOURSELF TO NATIONAL REVIEW'S PORTABLE, QUOTABLE, KNOW-IT-ALL NEWSLETTER the BULLETIN.

There are many good things about *National Review's* fact-filled newsletter the **BULLETIN**. In fact, we could fill pages. But, like the newsletter itself, we'll be brief. But to the point.

The **BULLETIN** is portable. Delve into the **BULLETIN** on a train, plane, bus, the comfort of your home . . . you name it. It folds to fit your pocket. The **BULLETIN** can go wherever you go.

The **BULLETIN** is concise. The news you need to know is packed into a crisp, no-nonsense eight pages. It's like receiving several separate newsletters because there is so much information. All in one handy source.

The **BULLETIN** covers plenty! People, politics, world affairs, economics, the Left, Washington—it's all here. Eight features that make you think.

The **BULLETIN** brings you reliable, reasoned views of the news. You get what you want to know the way you like to hear it. Plus information you won't find in the regular press. And it saves you time: An entire issue can be thoroughly digested in about 30 minutes.

Last but not least, the **BULLETIN** is inexpensive. You can now get the next 12 issues (24 weeks) for only $5.95. We can't think of a better bargain than that. The **BULLETIN** is available by subscription only. So if you haven't tried it (and you are really missing something!), use the postpaid card opposite the page for your order. We'll speed the **BULLETIN** to you right away. Many thanks!

TRY IT TODAY!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RANDOM NOTES

■ MORE AUGUST TITLES: Taki Theodoracopulos' *The Greek Upheaval: Kings, Demagogues, and Bayonets* (Caratzas Brothers, $12) is an account of the abortive coup of 1974 that resulted in the invasion of Cyprus by Turkey and the return of Greece to democratic government. . . . *The History of Australia: The Twentieth Century, 1901-1975* (Harper, $17.50) by Russel Ward describes the progress of a liberal, egalitarian society toward a conservative, egalitarian one. . . . John Higham has edited a volume called *Ethnic Leadership in America* (Johns Hopkins, $12.95), in which eight contributors explain how the national and community leaders of various ethnic groups in the U.S. attempt to mold ethnic consciousness and gain the attention of society at large. . . . In *The University and the State: What Role for Government in Higher Education?* (Prometheus, $13.95), some educators discuss the implications for home rule of government subsidization. The book is edited by Sidney Hook, Paul Kurtz, and Miro Todorovich. . . . Theodore White's *In Search of History: A Personal Adventure* (Harper, $12.95) displaced *The Making of the President 1976*, a volume White, out of boredom, aborted in its first trimester. . . . Jean Monnet, father of the Common Market, has written his *Memoirs* (Doubleday, $12.95). . . . Commander Richard A. Stratton, a Navy flier shot down over North Vietnam in 1967, was tortured into signing a "confession" of his crimes against the Vietnamese people, and photographed by his captors bowing to them in a gesture of Oriental deference. Commander Stratton's own account of his ordeal is given in *Prisoner at War: The Survival of Commander Richard A. Stratton* (Anchor Press/Doubleday, $10). . . . Richard E. Leakey, the anthropologist, and Roger Lewin, science editor of *New Scientist*, have collaborated on *People of the Lake: Mankind and Its Beginnings* (Anchor Press/Doubleday, $10), in which they suggest that man evolved from three, or four, different hominids living in peace and cooperation over a period of a million years. . . . The earliest of Anaïs Nin's diaries, started when she was 11, is shortly available as *Linotte: The Early Diary of Anaïs Nin, 1914-1920* (Harcourt, $14.95).

■ THE LITERARY POLITICIANS: Of *Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr.: A Biography* (Putnam's, $10.95), Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., author of a forthcoming book on Robert F. Kennedy Sr., says: "Robert F. Kennedy Jr. has given us . . . a vivid portrait, drawn with literary grace and historical depth, of a Southern individualist who changed the life of Alabama." The book was born a Harvard senior thesis, and carries an Introduction by John Doar.

---

terms like those used of Edgar Allan Poe and Herman Melville.

In Chambers' case, there was also what one can only call an obscure beginning. And his perceptions of his early circumstances were shaped by a lively imagination, both moral and historical. He was wont to project concrete events and observations onto a large scale of metaphysical meaning. Thus, in the early Twenties, two experiences hit him hard. On a trip to Europe, he "found Germany in chaos, and partly occupied; northern France and parts of Belgium smashed to pieces." It seemed to him that "a crisis had been reached in Western civilization which society was not able to solve by the usual means." The second experience was the profound disruption of his family. "We were not a family. My father was not my father. My mother was not my mother." He himself withdrew to the woods. The general estrangement finally drove his brother to a despairing suicide. "The malady of the life around me and the malady of the life of my family were different manifestations of the same malady—the disorder that overtakes societies and families when a world has lost its soul." It was then that he cast his lot with the Communist Party and, to serve it more completely, left college.

The decision was not primarily intellectual. It was made on moral grounds, as was his later break with the Party. He once answered the question of what a Communist is by pointing to his three heroes: Dzherzinsky, who in a Czarist prison insisted on cleaning the other prisoners' latrines because he felt that it was the duty of those who had reached the highest stage of development to perform the lowliest tasks; Levine, who, when informed by a Bavarian court in 1919 that he was "under sentence of death," replied: "We Communists are always under sentence of death"; and Sazonov, who was so deeply outraged by the flogging o prisoners in a Czarist prison cam that, in protest, he set himself on fir and burned to death. When Whittake Chambers joined the Communists h opted, as he said, "against death an for life." A strong faith ties Com munists "by a secret oath . . . a simpl conviction, in defiance of religion, mo rality, truth, law, honor, the weaknes of the body, and the irresolutions o the mind, even unto death, [that] it i necessary to change the world." It i the "vision of Man without God."

MORALLY, Whittaker Chambers nev er changed. What did change was hi image of Communism. The "sublim vision," the answer to the "world' crisis," first appeared to be perfection for, as Burke said, "criticism is almos baffled in discovering the defects o what has not existed; and eager en thusiasm and cheating hope have al the wide field of imagination." More over, Whittaker Chambers was no one to leave enthusiasm to the imagi nation. He threw himself, head an heart, into the practical service of thi great moral vision. In this respect Alger Hiss had the same character.

Through his connections with Amer ican and Russian Communists, Whit taker Chambers gradually discovere the ugly reality veiled by the "sublim vision." A Communist girl told him incredulously, of her pro-Soviet fa ther's defection: "You will laugh at m —but you must not laugh at my fathe —one night—in Moscow—he hear screams." Chambers said to himself "Those are not the screams of a mar in agony. Those are the screams of a soul in agony." After many simila observations and reports, the awaken ing: "I did not know what had hap pened to me. I denied the very exis tence of a soul. But I said: 'This i evil, absolute evil. Of this I am a part.'"

As the hold of his Communist faith slackened, he gradually came to see God. First in sudden wonder at his child's delicately designed ear. The awareness of design led him to the Designer. Then there was a sequence of events so improbably and unexpectedly fitted together that both he and his wife could only call them "providential." And so: "In the end, the only memorable stories, like the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only memorable experiences, are religious and moral. If my story is worth telling, it is because I rejected in turn each of the characteristic endings of life in our time—the revolutionary ending and the success ending. I chose a third ending. In so far as I am a true witness, it is because twice in my life I came, not alone, for I had my wife and children by the hand, to a dark tower, and, in a storm of the spirit, listened to that question that was both within and without me: Who, if I cried out, would hear me from among the orders of the angels? And because each time the question was answered."

Here we must pause to say, in the face of the "memorable story," a word of criticism—not to belittle Chambers but to account for the public's failure to recognize him for what he was. The book is called *Witness*. Chambers did bear witness before the New York Grand Jury. But it is his book that is meant by the title *Witness*. And in the book, Whittaker Chambers bears witness to himself. That does not convict him of falsehood, but it leaves inevitable flaws. At crucial moments of the story, the mood becomes melodramatic, the language even, at times, maudlin. At those moments the spell of truth recedes, and the reader wonders about the story's writer. The other point of criticism is that Chambers, like all ex-Communists, carried away a wound that never healed, like Ransom in *That Hideous Strength*. History remained for him always a hypostasis, something like a divine or demonic entity beating its dark batwings over the time of mankind. Thus he could say to his wife: "You know, we are leaving the winning world for the losing world." Though he did become a devout and loving Christian, he never learned to live in hope.

That said, let us dwell, in justice, on the price he himself willingly paid through his suffering. The Hiss case is not primarily a drama of two personalities, but of clashing political forces, embodied in the United States and the Soviet Union. The clash occurred on American soil and within American institutions, and one is terrified on observing the Soviets' ability—without any military presence, in time of peace—to mobilize massive power by maneuvering into battle positions not merely their U.S. Party members, but large elements of the American press, the academy, and even the government. This overwhelming "hideous strength" wore down Chambers' endurance. Determined as he was to allow himself to be destroyed, the frightful moral and intellectual isolation eventually drove him to attempt that suicide which he had earlier contemplated but rejected. The attempt failed, not from inadequate preparation but from involuntary movements he made in his sleep. Having come face to face with death, he, like Dostoevsky, emerged with his faith and strength restored.

Whittaker Chambers describes the West as "having lost the power to distinguish between reality and unreality, because ultimately it had lost the power to distinguish between good and evil." He adds: "This failure, I, too, shared with the world of which I was a part." The same failure accounts for the widespread inability in the West to realize the force of demonic faith that drives the totalitarian movements, as well as the hellish agony of those who try to make their soul's escape from its claws. Solzhenitsyn and his friends have faces graven with the lines of deep suffering and eyes shining with new life. The German conspirators against Hitler paid with their lives after having given witness. Thank God that our country is not unrepresented in this noble company. While we look in sorrow on the long list of our losses of nerve and failures of wisdom in high places, we also have Whittaker Chambers, who bore his country's honor. □

Government and the Mind
By Joseph Tussman
Oxford, 175 pp., $8.95

AGAINST FOLK-CONSTITUTIONALISM

M. J. SOBRAN JR.

Upon reading *Government and the Mind*, this reviewer, for one, feels himself overcome with the desire to confront the author, Joseph Tussman, with a simple question: Where you been all my life? Or, as the academic reviewers put it, this is a Much-Needed Book. Hell, most of its footnotes are Much-Needed Footnotes.

We are living in what is shaping up as a time of Counter-reformation in the theory of free speech. Willmoore Kendall, Leonard Levy, Walter Berns, Francis Canavan, and Hadley Arkes have made a series of crucial distinctions; the Straussian and Burkean schools are a-humming with promise of further development. The public, disturbed by claims made by and on behalf of pornographers, revolutionaries, and assorted cranks, is beginning to sense that the limits of tolerance are inherent, not arbitrary. Journalists, notably George Will, have begun packing the new ideas into epigrams with which to inseminate public discussion. Pretty soon now, one may hope, beleaguered common sense will be armed with something more subtle and supple than the line about shouting "Fire!" in a crowded theater.

Tussman comes at the problem from a novel angle. He is chairman of the philosophy department at Berkeley, and like the good contemporary philosopher he is he rejects easy dualisms: action/speech, society/individual. These dualisms underlie most theorizing of the kind that by quick soritical hops always arrives at the conclusion that the more free expression, the merrier. Our civil libertarians conceive the state as nothing more than the coercive billy-club of society, whose opposite is the purely internal life of the mind. In this scheme of things, the mind is liberated by simple reductions in the extent of social authority. The freer Nazis are, the freer all of us are. This is not true in the realm of action, of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

course, but somehow it is supposed to be true in the realm of thought. It is further supposed, by those who hold to what Tussman calls our "folk-constitutionalism," that the First Amendment is ultimately aimed at making every individual utterly free from external inhibitions on the interior realm of ideas.

There are two great truths that speech-thought libertarianism has tended to neglect, and fatally. One is that everyone has some kind of interest in what others think. Unless government has such an interest—Tussman forces the issue quickly and surely—there is no reason to have public schools, and every reason not to have them. The other neglected truth is that individual freedom of speech is not the same thing as freedom of speech. When we convene for a meeting, rules of order restrain us from all talking at once, or from introducing topics not on the agenda. The whole reason for freedom for any activity is to allow it to follow its own proper rules. Freedom of inquiry means the freedom of trained inquirers to observe the rules of inquiry, without extraneous (and incompetent) interference. Academic freedom does not mean the freedom of the individual professor from all discipline, but his subjection to academic discipline. As Tussman says, "Academic freedom is simply the extension of the principles of separation of powers and due process to the teaching power." In a way, it is the analogue of states' rights. In a way, so are all rights.

THE RIGHT of free speech was originally, under the First Amendment, a guarantee of the integrity of parliamentary discussion. Tussman understands this (he seems to have a lot of Levy and perhaps Kendall under his belt), and he sees individual freedom of speech as universalizing it; as a fruit of civilized refinement progressively institutionalizing its discriminations, rather than as a "natural" right. Far from thinking we had it until government came along to take it away, he argues that it is a *benefit* of civic order, inseparable from it and meaningless without it.

Speech acts are, after all, acts; often explosive ones. Tussman sees no reason why we should think *a priori* that society must always and everywhere tolerate sedition: "The verbal assault on public authority is still regarded in most places in the world as, in some degree, a crime. The shock it generates testifies to a deep social instinct." Or blasphemy: "The sacred and the holy demand a hushed voice, a special intonation, an immunity from verbal attack." Or obscenity: "A community may insist on a special public language, a special reticence, a veiled obscurity, 'decency,' and it senses—confusedly but doggedly—that irreverence at this point is deeply destructive. For this unerring perception society is called 'up-tight' by those who are not yet spiritually toilet-trained." Or libel. Or slander.

NOW TUSSMAN is no good-old-days reactionary, eager to revive ancient sanctions and crack heads. He merely explains, imaginatively and idiomatically, how these ancient sentiments are akin to our own, and how, in their framework, they are justified. He likewise has a deep appreciation of modern freedoms, with however the understanding that their value too depends on a certain context. The question is not whether there should be free speech, whether there should be sanctions; it is what form they should take. Speech is genuinely free when it is governed by appropriately calibrated sanctions. In two typically incisive sentences he enriches, and sharpens, our sense of the full complexity of the issue: "The truth of religious claims is not to be made a matter of official judgment, . . . and punishment for fraud may, consequently, be impossible. Proselytizing may escape some of the burdens of commercial selling." So there are as many different kinds of free speech as there are kinds of speech.

To call this the best book on the subject is to fall short. Someone once said to Dr. Johnson (after a discussion of the limits of toleration), "Sir, you have untwisted this difficult subject with great dexterity." Tussman has the authentic Johnsonian touch: the stunning common sense, the crisp wit and quick turn of phrase, the large and fair mind that takes pains to do justice to things forgotten and despised, the tart but generous humor. His book is to be read, studied, debated, yes; but finally loved and shared. It is a miniature of the civilization and the graces it celebrates; a little classic. □

Silent Missions
By Vernon A. Walters
Doubleday, 654 pp., $12.95

AIDE TO FATE

RICHARD BROOKHISER

When Vernon A. Walters entered the army in 1941, his loftiest ambition was to become a major. Thirty-five years later, he retired a major-general, with three Distinguished Service Medals and the esteem of his five Commanders-in-Chief. *Silent Missions* records Walters' career as translator, military attaché, and backdoor diplomat.

Walters' particular stretch of history has been long and varied (and tips of strata even longer and more various keep cropping out in it—Tito, Walters reminds us, fought for the Habsburgs in World War I; Churchill, at a Fifties summit meeting in Bermuda, recalled charging on horseback at Omdurman). When Walters received his first postwar attaché assignment, there was a coalition government in Prague, and a dozen countries on earth had rulers with non-white skins. When Walters finally retired, there were Soviet advisors in Africa, and the Union Jack had receded from all but a few spits like Tristan da Cunha and Belize.

Silent Missions covers the period as a sort of itinerary of one of Fate's lesser aides. Walters translated Vice President Nixon's replies to Communist hecklers in South America; 12 years later, he carried President Nixon's first secret feeler to the Red Chinese. Walters attended Averell Harriman on a conciliatory mission to Iranian Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh in 1951; Mossadegh had seized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, and refused to be conciliated—both actions setting a pattern for Third World despots which has lasted to the present. Walters was there when John Foster Dulles asked the French Foreign Minister what France really needed to win the Indochina War ("Syngman Rhee instead of Bao Dai," the Frenchman replied); and Walters was there again when Henry

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kissinger tried—equally unsuccessfully, it turned out—to negotiate an acceptable withdrawal.

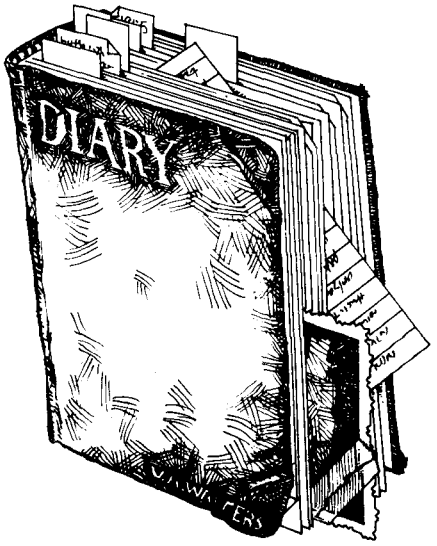
Paranoids of the *Rolling Stone/Nation* variety will be displeased with Walters' account on a number of points. In the course of his career, Walters has run afoul of several sets of conspiracy theorists. In June 1972, John Dean met him three times in an effort to draw the CIA into the Watergate coverup. Walters, the Agency's new deputy director, was not helpful; he innocently advised Dean to "fire everyone connected with this." A year later, Watergate investigators tried to uncover the connection which Dean had failed to set up. At the time of his CIA appointment, Walters received a routine letter of congratulation from Howard Hunt. A copy turned up in Hunt's papers; but eager prosecutors were disappointed to learn that the last time Walters had seen the future burglar was in 1962, in Uruguay.

WALTERS HAD an even gaudier reputation among foreign leftists as a fomenter of coups. At various times, he was credited with deposing a president of Argentina, a president of Peru, and King Farouk. ("And on the seventh day," Walters notes, "I rested.") In 1964, the Brazilian army did oust President João Goulart during Walters' tenure as American military attaché. Walters certainly saw the coup coming —his friendships with Brazilian officers, right- and left-wing, went back to a two-year liaison stint with the Brazilian Expeditionary Force in World War II —and he reported developments back to Washington. The army needed no prompting from abroad, however. Goulart's administration was strident and incompetent, and Goulart touched off the coup himself by appointing a dishonorably discharged ex-soldier as commandant of the marine corps.

The Brazilian sections are some of the best in the book; Walters loves the country, and predicts great things for it. More often, though, he reports without comment. Those who remember de Gaulle's cantankerousness might ponder the aside Walters picked up secondhand from a de Gaulle aide: "If the Americans will not fight for Cuba ninety miles from the United States, they will not fight for Europe three thousand, five hundred miles away. I must draw the conclusions." Partisans of the antiwar movement may also be interested in a comment of Le Duc Tho's: "I really don't know why I am negotiating anything with you," Le told Henry Kissinger in September 1971. "I have just spent several hours with Senator McGovern, and your opposition will force you to give me what I want." Kissinger's response should go down as his finest hour. "Mr. Special Advisor, you are a citizen of the most totalitarian nation on the surface of this planet. You know nothing about an opposition because you have always brutally destroyed any opposition that showed itself in your country. Leave the interpretation of an opposition to those who tolerate one." If Nixon, incidentally, had weighed all the implications of that last sentence, Gerald Ford might still be a congressman.

The diary-eye style does have its problems. Walters' judgments, when he pauses to give them, seem perfunctory; and when there is nothing interesting to report, he keeps on reporting anyway ("We headed south along the Rhône Valley, skirting a tremendous thunderstorm which showed on our radar screen"). Doubleday's copy editors don't seem to have been much help: whole sentences reappear, pages apart, almost verbatim.

ON THE OTHER hand, Walters was commissioned as an officer, and not a historian; and the weaknesses of the second reflect the virtues of the first. The glibness and mental agility of the intellectual, when it appears in military men, usually confines itself to commanders (Caesar, Churchill), and then often to dishonest ones (Alcibiades). Soldiering (and diplomacy) seem to demand steadier temperaments. "A great part of [my life]," Walters concludes, "was spent in the service of my country and its Army. . . . I have loved them both more than the written or spoken word can say." These are the words of a servant, not a critic. Healthy countries need both; more important, they need them in their proper stations. The whiz kids in the Pentagon may yet damage the world as badly as the drillmasters of the German schoolrooms. The driest stretches of *Silent Missions* are, in that sense, more refreshing than the most brilliant pages of, say, Ellsberg's *Papers on the War*. □



FICTION

The Changeling
By Joy Williams
Doubleday, 201 pp., $7.95

A CENTAUR THING

D. KEITH MANO

What I want is a piece of Joy Williams: just 10 per cent. It'd be better old age insurance than my lumpish Keogh fund. This woman (no, this novelist, she can dress in any locker room) is Xerox at three and one-half right now. Her first novel, *State of Grace*, put my leg to sleep again and again: I couldn't move while reading: the book damn near left me a cripple. Steve Cauthen's first winner must've looked like *State of Grace* to those who understand what makes a splendid jock. Joy sat low and easy and brash; she whipped with animal rhythm; and she had the internal clock, the synergetic pace, that turns horse and man into horse/man, one lithe centaur thing.

Words are a kind of old wood. Best when stripped layer by layer down: of varnish or grime: to the natural grain. Maintenance work: language must be housekept: you can eat off a prime novelist's page. I submit two small examples from *The Changeling*. Of an infant: "He seemed rudimentary but intense." Of Florida-heavy air: "Things moved about at the top with a little

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

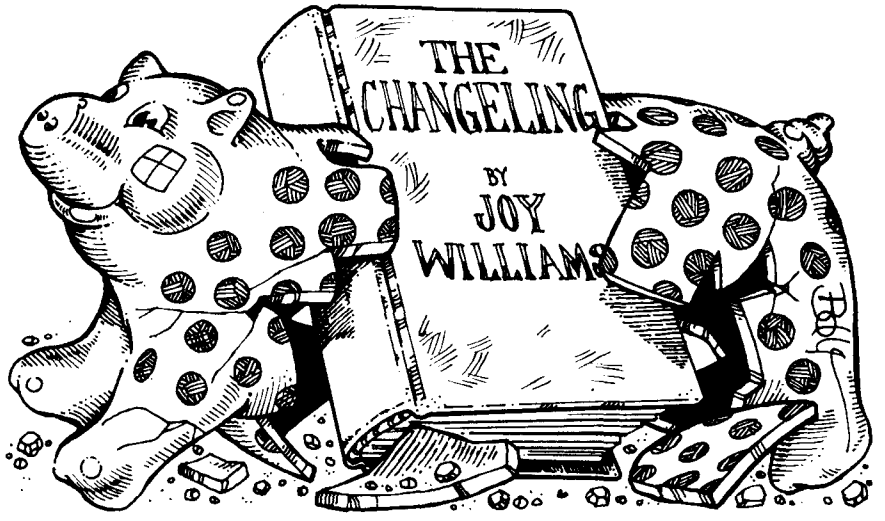
more arrogance and zip . . ." Example one: "rudimentary," cumbrous and over-veneered, has had a healthful comedownance: brought back into the vernacular: linked to fragile, fleshy childhood. "Zip," a colloquial term, has been given more cash value: tied to the great earth-circling jet stream itself. And in *State of Grace* Joy would heighten vernacular plot-events; while pretentious moments—death, birth, incest—had an apt and slangy temper. There is populism, a leveling, in the verbal or thematic life of good fiction.

To STRETCH and reconnoiter her talent, as any avid, game-peak writer should, Joy has gambled here: *The Changeling* is a book of risks: primeval myth, enchantment, animal metamorphosis, strange island, symbolism, insanity: more Gothic architecture than Chartres has. Only a daredevil novelist would *try to renovate this tenement genre.* For one: supernatural events, real or imagined, aren't amenable to leveling. They are otherworldly, extreme: the idiomatic *now* has trouble getting at them. There is a loss of vernacular sound; and, with that, of humor. To extend my first-paragraph metaphor: suppose Steve Cauthen on Affirmed plus a forty-pound saddle. Joy doesn't quite ride it home in front. But that's the handicapper's fault, not the writer's: even though they are, of course, one person.

Voice is the kicker in *Changeling*: you can watch Joy's lips move. Both novel I and novel II feature passive female protagonists: men or children oppress them. They report back; they don't care to judge. "I strive for a brain friendly and homogenized as sweet potato pie," says Kate in *State of Grace*. Pearl (*Changeling*) attains that same cheese-danish mentality through her epic alcoholism. Though *State of Grace* had first-person passages and third-person passages, the information given stayed in character, no matter how that character (Kate) might chance to evolve. *Changeling* is a third-person book; yet, like some maverick CB channel, Pearl's mind will break through: unintentionally, I feel: and this disconcerts Joy's narrative. "Pearl saw the pinions of the wing . . . the way each midnight heartless line in tapering thrust was more excellent, a thousand times more excellent than the most sincere aspirations of her soul." What does Pearl see? What does Joy Williams see? I suspect that Pearl can see only what comes after the comma: a rough sense of disparity between bird-wing and her own vague ideals: roughly phrased. Pearl is 27: naïve; uneducated: in fact simpleness, we are taught to think, will be decisive: it will enforce her salvation. Sottish Pearl could never have built that shining central clause, the one that begins, "each midnight heartless line . . ." So style will limp: one voice, then another: between brilliance and a wistful, high-toned pronouncing.

To fashion a rapport between stranger and stranger—novelist-audience—certain familiar correlatives are presented in any novel: conversation pieces, you might say. *State of Grace* boosted mundane imagery—a junkyard, say—to symbolic power-load. *Changeling* will operate with the same transmission in R. Symbols—moon, tarot, ceremonial rite—are homely, available. Neither approach is wrong, but the second is harder: it tends toward ingenuousness: it must presuppose a subjective complicity, almost a shared faith, in the reader. At one point child mummers appear. In animal dress they prefigure the climax. Pearl may or may not hallucinate this, but: "The device was so highly visible, so intrusive that she stared at it entranced." Joy, I think, announces her hope here: that intensity of device-repetition, supported by excellent prose, will mitigate intrusiveness. It doesn't always happen.

There's no such beast as a second-book jinx: not for fine writers, anyway. Fine writers attempt more: they hazard: and learn. I'd still love a slice of Joy Williams' action. □



FILM

UNFOCUSED COMEDY

JOHN SIMON

As others, too, have remarked, this spring and summer (so far) have been the Sahara and Gobi of the movies. Foreign imports have proved no less barren than the domestic product; under such circumstances, an insignificant item like *Heaven Can Wait* looms on the horizon like a lush oasis, even though it is only a middling mirage. For all its opulently colorful outdoor look, this remake of *Here Comes Mr. Jordan* (1941), a romantic comedy-fantasy with metaphysical overtones, already exercises a weaker hold on my memory than the grubby black-and-white, relentlessly studio-made original version.

The expensive remake, written by Elaine May and Warren Beatty (and owing more to the original screenplay than the credits care to admit) and directed by Beatty and Buck Henry, changes its hero, Joe Pendleton, from a boxer to a quarterback for the Los Angeles Rams. Joe is snatched up to Heaven prematurely by an over-eager neophyte escort (Buck Henry); the error is caught by the mysterious Mr. Jordan, who may be God, and is certainly, and infelicitously, James Mason. Since Pendleton's body has already been cre-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mated, a new fleshly envelope must be found for Joe; this is to be the body of Leo Farnsworth, an unscrupulous and eccentric billionaire whom his wife and private secretary (her lover) have just poisoned.

Joe agrees to become Farnsworth only because he falls for a pretty English girl (Julie Christie) who is in Los Angeles to protest an ecological crime one of the nabob's enterprises is about to commit. The Joefied Farnsworth is a quixotic do-gooder who also buys the Rams so he can still play quarterback in the upcoming Super Bowl. But the scheming wife (Dyan Cannon) and secretary (Charles Grodin) get him anyway, and Joe has to be moved again, which makes Heaven rather busier than the Seven Santini Brothers. He ends up inside a fellow quarterback killed in the game, and wins for the Rams. He must now forget his former identity, but love triumphs even over the transmigration of souls and attendant amnesia.

IT WAS a silly plot even in 1941, but we and the movies were both much younger, and fantasy in those unrealistic days did not look that much different from other, supposedly more truthful, Hollywood genres. Vincent Canby, of the *New York Times*, has speculated that in time of war this concern with death and survival, either in Heaven or by reincarnation, seemed more urgent and acceptable. I think, rather, that World War II, genocide, and all the subsequent historical catastrophes have made this type of fantasy inadequate to our needs, unless it is as witty and irreverent as *Blithe Spirit* or as philosophically charged as Sartre's *Les Jeux sont faits*. The prevailing mood among today's moviegoers seems to be an agnostic materialism, but even twice-born Christians are unlikely to fall for the woolly eschatology of *Heaven Can Wait*.

So the emphasis is now on comedy (the comic villains have become much more important) and on whatever electricity the on-screen teaming of the once celebrated off-screen lovers Beatty and Christie can generate. For me, Elaine May's wit has long since faded, and though she still manages a few genuine laughs here—many of them due to the superb expressions and comic timing of Charles Grodin—much of the humor misfires, often because (as Canby has rightly observed) the movie lacks a sense of period. Some of the ecological and racial gags are fairly up-to-date; but a weird billionaire with bedeviled servants and heavenly personages either bungling or resolving things are strictly Forties-or-earlier vintage. Somehow jokes such as a ship of souls built like a white marble Concorde and the always-hat-wearing Farnsworth suddenly going forth bareheaded, to the butler's astonishment, don't belong in the same picture.

Neither does the romantic element jell for me. Julie Christie has lost much of her former appeal, and her taste in hairdos has been steadily worsening. Here she looks like someone whose youth has been painted onto her face, and whose hair has been frizzed to a frazzle. As for Beatty, who also produced the film, he is just not believable as a nice, average Joe Pendleton; I kept expecting him to turn Machiavellian or at least neurotic on us: innocence sits on him like an overtight suit whose seams will burst any moment. As I recall it, Robert Montgomery and Evelyn Keyes were much more believable and winning as the avatar-crossed lovers.

Several supporting players are fine, though: notably Grodin; Joseph Maher as the very model of a manservant; and Jack Warden as a decent, befuddled Ram coach. Other parts are overdone, e.g., by Dyan Cannon and Vincent Gardenia (as a police inspector); or underdone, e.g., by James Mason, a complex, ironic actor who cannot act and sound unambivalently benign; or not done at all, e.g., by Buck Henry, who has almost always struck me as an essentially unfunny funnyman. The production is handsomely designed by Paul Sylbert and photographed by William A. Fraker, but trappings do not a movie make.

A DIFFERENT backward glance is taken by *The Cheap Detective*, Neil Simon's new film, directed, like his *Murder by Death*, by Robert Moore. This is a parody of Humphrey Bogart movies—chiefly *Casablanca* and *The Maltese Falcon*, spiced with added allusions to *The Big Sleep* and *To Have and Have Not*. The problem is evident: the political pieties and bittersweet romanticism of *Casablanca* are a far cry from the private-eye toughnesses of *The Maltese Falcon*. Parody, a small, precise genre, demands perfect accuracy and self-control: to swat with different implements at diverse projectiles is, like trying to play tennis and hockey simultaneously, a mess.

The execution, moreover, is a tangle of self-indulgence. One corpse discovered in the exact position it assumed while alive is funny; a whole series of such corpses is not. Naming all three policemen after Italian-American baseball players is too much or, depending on how you look at it, too little. Having a character's name turn out to be something else every few seconds is a running gag that soon runs out of steam. Everything here is milked to the point where, if it were a cow, it would trample the dairymaid to death.

This is not to say that there are not, as always with Simon, a few funny sight gags and one-liners. Yet even they are rare here, and suffer from the weight of the all-encompassing heavy-handedness. James Coco and John Houseman in particular are victimized by a lack of funny material; Dom DeLuise, despite a pretty good take-off on Peter Lorre, has for his comic mainstay the fact that he exudes an unbearable stench. A character in a Feydeau farce can turn bad breath to good comic account; stinking all over is considerably less funny. The parodist, mocking vulgarity, must not himself fall into worse vulgarity.

Among the generally undistinguished performances, Louise Fletcher's Ingrid Bergman take-off is particularly disconcerting: a character meant to be boring is played quite literally boringly. The very Hispanic Fernando Lamas is unintentionally ludicrous as a Frenchman; his prototype in *Casablanca*, Paul Henreid, was not very French either, but this is hardly a subtly ironic jab, only Hollywood's perennial insensitivity to telling details. Peter Falk is insufficiently inventive as a comedian to carry the main role, and I wish that his baby-talk version of Bogey's speech would stick in his craw instead of mine.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A final example of the prevailing sloppiness. The song that haunts Simon's lovers is not the nostalgic "As Time Goes By," but the bouncily silly "Jeepers Creepers." Now, good satirical parody would intensify the nostalgia to absurdity, not simply substitute its opposite—a cheap effect typical of a cheap film. □

ART

UP FROM VESUVIUS

RUTH BERENSON

Pompeii 79 A.D., a huge display of art and artifacts from that Roman summer resort destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius and not rediscovered until the seventeenth century, has just opened its American tour in Boston's Museum of Fine Arts. Preceded by a massive publicity barrage—which started back in January and included furnishing the nation's art critics with orange campaign buttons inscribed "Pompeii Lives!"—it attracted some twenty thousand viewers in its first two weeks: which was, of course, the name of the game. *Pompeii* is only the most recent representative of what appears to be the new trend among American museums: the booking of large-scale exhibitions from abroad—preferably of a rarity that will permit the use of "Treasures" in the title—in order to push up the attendance figures, on which foundation officials and corporate donors (in this case, Xerox and the National Council on the Humanities) base their continued support. Crowds = money, as on Broadway; more = more.

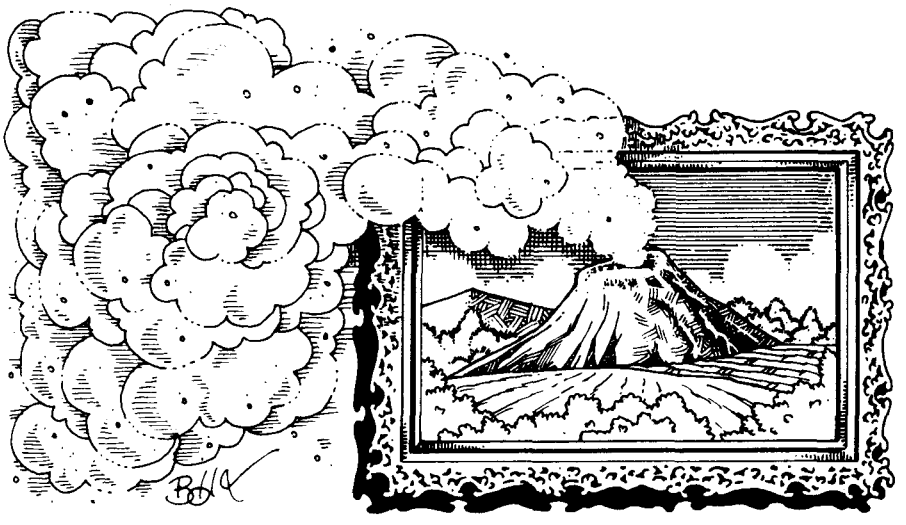
Over the past few years, Americans coast to coast have been treated to such delectable offerings as *Treasures of Chinese Art* and *Treasures of Irish Art*, not to mention the globetrotting *Treasures of Tutankhamen*, all-time world champion in the exhibition stakes. Of course, the general public is the ultimate winner. Nevertheless, these displays do raise questions.

Certainly no individual museum, no matter how well heeled, can, or should, go it alone in mounting and insuring the precious objects that make up these displays; publishing their catalogues alone costs a small fortune. Yet the larger the number of institutions sharing the expense, the greater the danger to the objects themselves, from climatic changes, packing and unpacking, and, most of all, people. One thinks of this when marveling at the brilliant frescoes lent to the *Pompeii* show by the Naples Museum, their colors, sealed off for centuries by layers of lava, apparently as fresh as when they were painted. The numerous DO NOT TOUCH signs seemed small protection against the jostling throngs—including busloads of schoolchildren whose teachers were nowhere in sight—that packed the galleries. How could insurance, no matter how much or how high the premium, compensate for damage to such works?

Still, the exhibition, which has survived London and Copenhagen and will travel to Chicago, Dallas, and New York, looks fine. It is beautifully selected, though one might argue with the organizers' having arranged it to teach a history lesson rather than to provide an aesthetic experience. Their theory was that within the larger context of Roman art, what was produced in the small city of Pompeii (its inhabitants never numbered more than 25,000) was necessarily inferior to what was produced in the capital. Perhaps so, as far as sculpture and architecture were concerned; though the catalogue notes that a number of architectural forms generally thought of as typically Roman, including the basilica, the stone-built amphitheater, and the public bath, originated in southern Italy, with Pompeii providing the earliest known examples. However, the paintings, including the mosaics, seem anything but provincial.

With the exception of a few mosaics discovered elsewhere, the walls of Pompeii and its sister city, Herculaneum, contain all that we know of classical painting, and by any standard they are extraordinary. Many were based on earlier prototypes; but others—landscapes, portraits, and still-lifes of most amazing realism—were not, and they are astonishingly spontaneous and free, drawn with a sketchy line that prefigures the Rococo. It seems somehow wrong to present them (as do the Acoustiguide and the catalogue, both of which are essential to an understanding of the show) for the light they throw on Pompeiian life rather than as—quite simply—artworks of enduring grace.

The catastrophe that overwhelmed Pompeii has, of course, its own special fascination, and as far back as the seventeenth century, smoking Vesuvius has been a favorite subject for artists, American as well as European. Not the least of the Boston Museum's attractions when I was there was the small loan show, *Visions of Vesuvius*, assembled by the Paintings Department. It traced this preoccupation from a seventeenth century Italian drawing showing St. Januarius, patron saint of Naples, extinguishing Vesuvius' fire, to a rare monotype by Degas, done from memory around 1890. Nineteenth century artists like John Martin and Albert Bierstadt predictably reveled in the



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

drama of Vesuvius in eruption; Degas, however, shows the Bay of Naples in a calm daylight whose clarity is only lightly obscured by the volcano's column of smoke. This unpretentious sideshow, composed mostly of little-known painters, is a charming commentary on the main event. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

A TIME OF TERROR: *How Democratic Societies Respond to Revolutionary Terror, by J. Bowyer Bell (Basic, 292 pp., $10.95).* Bell presents a plea for moderation in dealing with the critical problem of terrorism, and the result is not enlightenment, or even skepticism, but boredom, for this book is little more than a mundane rehash of already-familiar themes. With neither a firm narrative flow nor much new information, the volume is heavily padded and full of irksome cliches and self-confident assertions. While Bell does present worthwhile studies of Italian and Croatian terrorists, he has very little of interest to say on his central issue. Bell is stoically fatalistic about random political violence and antagonistic toward most moves to combat it: he believes they only weaken democracy and destroy civil liberties. For anyone interested in a decent study of the proper democratic response to terrorism, the book to consult is still Richard Clutterbuck's *Living with Terrorism*, a thinner and less unctuous volume.

DAVID PIETRUSZA

MAO AND THE PERPETUAL REVOLUTION, *by Franz Michael (Barron's/Woodbury, 126 pp., $9.95).* Professor Michael was lucky enough to be just finishing this biography of Mao Tse-tung and history of Chinese Communism when Mao died, so his book is one of the first to tell us how things came out. It's fairly short, 130 pages of text plus four of Mao's major statements. Unlike most lives of Mao, it emphasizes his decades of power, especially the last. Although Michael tries, until the end, to be objective—and succeeds almost too well—his Mao is no thinker but a sloganeer and a murderous fanatic—a skillful politician and military strategist in coming to power, but after that a wild man who hurled his country into several periods of chaos and horror. Michael thinks Mao was never so defiant of Stalin as is usually asserted, and that Moscow, whether model or enemy, was always a prime factor in Mao's policy. He judges Mao not to have been a true Marxist, but rather a visionary who insisted that his own mind was the source of guidance for the world. Mao always thought the army was the true path to power and means to progress; he kept his China in constant turmoil, subject to unrelenting drives toward the far shores of perfection: the original Maoification of the 1950s, the Great Leap Forward, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution —perpetual revolution! These aren't new views of Mao but they are strongly and effectively supported here. Michael isn't interested in numbering the millions of the dead or in the Chinese standard of living, but he makes it very clear why Maoism, after Mao's death, is again being replaced by the more nearly moderate policies the Chairman hated.

FRANCIS B. RANDALL

THE PARTIES: *Republicans and Democrats in This Century, by Henry Fairlie (St. Martin's, 236 pp., $8.95).* Mr. Fairlie's Richard Nixon was "returned" to the White House in 1968 (though rumor has it that he hadn't previously resided there) and his Adlai Stevenson selected as his running-mate in 1956 one Senator John Sparkman (which leaves 1952 somehow lacking its rightful Democratic vice presidential candidate), and he is sloppy elsewhere in this sprawling, scattershot dump on both parties. But *The New Republic*'s resident Britisher makes a few direct hits. He is unkind to the Democratic Party (which can be "such a jackass"); he is vicious toward the Republicans, who are marching blindly to their "elephant graveyard." Mr. Fairlie seems also to have a particular *thing* about NATIONAL REVIEW, whose virtue, to Fairlie, is that it indulges in a little enjoyment (not your usual conservative activity, he insists), and whose vices are legion, chief among them that it is conservative and hence out of this world. Aside from Republican Party enthusiasts and conservative zealots, most readers attached to the GOP or the right wing will find something bitterly accurate in Part One—something provoking, challenging, usefully critical. Democrats with no sense of humor will detest Part Two, though any of the old machine Party types who are left will take some rueful satisfaction from the author's analysis of the Democratic Party's major folly: abandoning its nuts-and-bolts approach and running off with the "literate liberals," as it did in 1952, 1956, for a time (with McCarthy) in 1968, and in 1972. Conservatives will have to discount half or more of what Fairlie says about the Right if the book is to be tolerated at all, and the author's heroes in the GOP are not those likeliest to evoke similar reverence from readers of this magazine. But given the current state of Republicanism, and the tensions still present on the Right—the "New Right" opportunists *v.* the traditionalists *v.* the libertarians—it would be folly to ignore Fairlie entirely. Could it be that we on the Right are, as Fairlie says, engaged in one "long grouse against the modern age"? It's worth reflection.

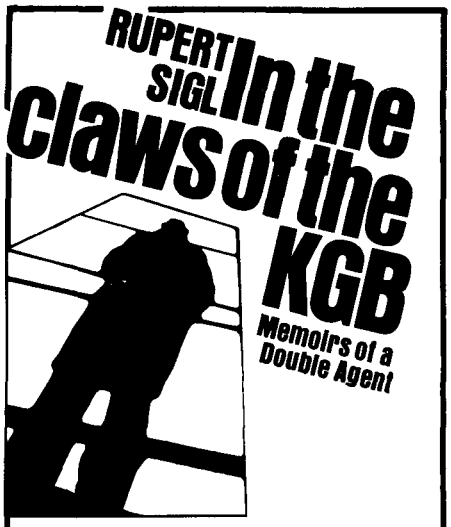
DAVID BRUDNOY

INFANTS OF THE SPRING, *by Anthony Powell (Holt, Rinehart, 214 pp., $10.95).* For fifty pages or so of these memoirs—the first volume of a projected series—I

felt that I was reading the work of a once-fine writer gone dotty. Powell's addiction to the practice of omitting linking and auxiliary verbs approaches the pathological; in some sentences, the antecedents are so tangled as to make it impossible, without prior knowledge, to be certain which of two people did whatever it was to the other; occasionally Powell insists upon an apparently minor point with a vehemence presumably left over from some ancient quarrel, to which the reader, unfortunately, is not privy. But presently the difficulties smooth out—or, at any rate, become less important than what Powell is writing about. The Eton chapters are interesting, though fairly standard for British literary memoirs; more unusual is the chapter on Powell's brush with the Nineties, through a bookseller who had been on the edge of Oscar Wilde's circle. The best things in the book, though, are the Oxford chapters and the section on George Orwell. Powell came up to Oxford in 1923; he became a friend of Cyril Connolly's, met Evelyn Waugh (although they did not know each

(Continues on page 975)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"In fact, said one U.S. official . . . , Sigl's knowledge of Soviet espionage operations is so vast that 'it will take years before we evaluate all this stuff.'"
—*Newsweek,* May 19, 1969

Now read the true and chilling story of Rupert Sigl, the Austrian national trapped into Soviet spying in the days following World War II. His entrapment lasted until 1969 when, in a daring East Berlin escape, he defected to the West, bringing his invaluable knowledge of KGB operations and agents with him.

Since his defection Sigl has been on the KGB execution list and must continually be on the run from the Soviet spy agency which, he says, is present and active in every major country in the world.

This significant book is not simply an autobiography or the memoirs of an intelligence agent; the publication of *In the Claws of the KGB* marks the first time that a double agent and "agent handler" has had the courage to come forward and—by providing facts and illustrations—explain the methods and day-to-day work of the KGB.

Order from your bookseller or from:
DORRANCE & COMPANY, Publishers
35 Cricket Tr., Ardmore, PA 19003

Please send me ..... copies of *In the Claws of the KGB: Memoirs of a Double Agent* by Rupert Sigl. I am enclosing $7.95 per copy ordered.

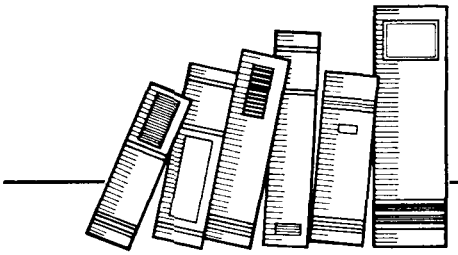
☐ Check enclosed ☐ BankAmericard
☐ Master Charge

Card-issuing Bank Name

Expir. Date Card Number

Signature

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....
STATE..... ZIP.....



Dark Horses

THE BOOKS ON terrorism continue to proliferate, almost as rapidly as the problem they are trying to describe.

Best of the recent lot is *International Terrorism—The Communist Connection* (American Council on World Freedom, 1735 DeSales St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; $5.95), by Stefan T. Possony of the Hoover Institution and L. Francis Bouchey of the Council for Inter-American Security. The theme of the study is summed up in the opening paragraph, which says: "There is virtually no terrorist operation in the world today, whether Communist, semi-Communist, or non-Communist, from the Irish Republic Army to the Palestine Liberation Organization to our own Weather Underground, with which Communists of one sort or another have not been involved."

Possony and Bouchey acknowledge the frequently repeated adage that formal Marxist-Leninist theory has only a limited place for terrorism, and that orthodox Communist Parties of Latin America and elsewhere have taken a poor view of "adventurist" or *foco*ist tactics. Nonetheless, as these authors show, the terrorist binge of recent years has been heavily equipped, promoted, and subsidized by the Soviet Union and its agents. AK-47s, help from Cuban operatives, money obtained through Colonel Qaddafi—these are the common features of nearly all the major terrorist groups in action around the world.

The authors stress the crucial role of Cuba in spreading terror in Latin America and elsewhere, the interconnections among the various terrorist organizations, and the vulnerabilities of the West to terrorist blackmail. All in all, a valuable study.

Paul Wilkinson is described by his publishers as senior lecturer in politics at University College, Cardiff, UK. His *Terrorism and the Liberal State* (John Wiley & Sons, $14.95) gives minor notice to the problem of Communist involvement in the global terror, focusing rather on weaknesses in the Western psyche and political system that have served to produce the terrorist phenomenon. Most of his discussion in this respect seems perfectly sound. He differs from other authorities in the field by tracing the major intellectual impulse toward terrorism to Sartre and Fanon rather than Debray and Marighela, though of course the insights of all these masters can be, and have been, easily combined.

WILKINSON HAS a section, seemingly *de rigueur* in such discussions, pointing out that there are terrorist groups and activities on the right as well as on the left. The object of such statements is apparently to suggest the author's objectivity and to wheedle some flicker of interest from readers who think the subject of left-wing terror boring but might find the idea of right-wingers' committing similar atrocities a bit more creepy. Thus Wilkinson brings together such strands of evidence as he can find to show the existence of a "neo-fascist" terror threat.

But it is a fruitless exercise. The simple fact of the matter is that modern terrorism is, and for the foreseeable future will be, a left-wing baby. Not merely in the sense suggested by the Possony-Bouchey showing that 97 per cent of the groups involved are left-wing in origin, but in the sense that left-wing terror is the only kind for which there is any sort of market. You may rest assured that if the people out there hijacking airplanes or kidnapping public officials were neo-Nazis or Ku Kluxers, they would have been crushed to earth long since. But left-wing terror is a different matter. The Baader-Meinhof types, the *Brigate Rosse*, the PLOs, can count on material backing from the East and plenty of psychological backing from leftward elements in the West. Terror can come from almost any ideological direction; but it is leftward ideology, and nothing else, that creates "the terrorist problem" of the present hour. M. STANTON EVANS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BRIEFS

(Continued from page 973)

other well until later on), was for a while a protege of Maurice Bowra. There are good anecdotes here that I hadn't heard before—e.g., when Orwell learned, early in World War II, that Waugh was serving with a commando unit (Orwell himself was unable to join up, having been badly wounded in the Spanish Civil War), he fumed, "Why can't somebody on the Left do that sort of thing?" Waugh remains on the fringes of the narrative: unfortunately, because, given Powell's depiction—acute, humorous, moving—of those complicated men Orwell and Bowra, I want to see what he has to say about the most complicated of them all. Maybe in the second volume? LINDA BRIDGES

A SEVERE MERCY, *by Sheldon Vanauken (Harper, 238 pp., $6.95).* The rich man's son and the minister's daughter meet by accident. Looking back almost forty years, Professor Vanauken tells what happened to him and Jean next. Ten months later they were secretly married—and still teenagers. They went through the Second World War in Hawaii (he was a naval officer). Their love was a *grande passion*, and they fashioned a marriage that reflected their solipsism, their specialness, their imperviousness to the world. After the war they went to Oxford for postgraduate study, and there they met, and socialized with, C. S. Lewis. Soon they were caught, as Lewis said, "in the meshes of the net," for they had decided the time had come to "look into" Christianity. Together, and with Lewis' tender counsel (the book contains many letters from Lewis, never published before), they climbed the mountain of Struggle, and were swept into the blue distances of Faith. They returned to America, and within a couple of years Jean took sick and, still a young woman, died. Her wordless adieu, the young husband's fathomless grief, C. S. Lewis' marvelous support that included the acknowledgment of sadness and the cry of joy—these are the piercing motifs of the "real" part of this highly personal, irresistibly emotional, disturbingly objective account of a young man's awesome liberation. It was Lewis who pointed out that the solipsism of their springtime love could not have lasted, that Christ had penetrated the wall that had kept the world out, and that it was finally a mercy, a "severe mercy," to let Jean go now, in order to translate the springtime into a different eternity. WM. F. RICKENBACKER

READER'S SERVICE

HOW WELL WE SERVE YOU depends largely on whether you include your *address label when you write us about* your subscription. Please attach it to all correspondence. When moving, please give us 5 weeks notice, and paste your old address label here. Print new address below, including your ZIP code.

You may use this form to subscribe, renew, change your address—or for any other correspondence you may have with us. If you attach your mailing label at right, you will have helped us be both speedy and accurate.

REMEMBER

that Magazine and BULLETIN are on separate lists! If you are a subscriber to both, you must tell us to change both lists.

Address all inquiries or subscriptions to: National Review, Readers' Service, 150 E. 35th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10016

NAME
(Please print)

ADDRESS
(New address–if moving)

CITY STATE ZIP

☐ PLEASE CHANGE MY BULLETIN ADDRESS ALSO ☐ I wish to subscribe to NATIONAL REVIEW for one year at the regular $19.00 rate. Please enter my ☐ new ☐ renewal subscription: ☐ payment enclosed ☐ bill me later.

Q: If you could put together the best daily newspaper in New York you'd probably want to have opinion writers like **George F. Will, James Kilpatrick, Phyllis Schlafly** and **Michael Novak** for openers, right?

You'd also have **John D. Lofton, Neal Peirce** and **Reed Irvine** of Accuracy In Media, and it would have been the only New York daily to print the entire text of **Solzhenitsyn's** Harvard address.

To top it off, you'd surround the best opinion pages with complete sports, city and world news, stock market tables and book reviews, right?

A: Right!

New York's newest daily and Sunday newspaper has got it all for 10¢ at your newsstand

The News World

Call (212) 532-8300 for reliable home delivery

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified Advertisements

Employment Opportunities

LAND OF PLEASANT LIVING—Maryland's Eastern Shore offers 2 physicians a unique, full family practice opportunity in rural setting. Splendid recreational possibilities, good schools and churches provide the best in family living. Easy access to ocean resorts and metropolitan areas. Contact: Ruth Ann B. Crouse, R.N., Caroline Health Services, Inc., P.O. Box 193, Denton, Md. 21629.

YOUR RESUME—Write it yourself! Instructions, samples, forms: $2.95. Your Resume Inc., Dept R, 359 Jersey Ave., Fairview, N.J. 07022.

WANTED: EXPERIENCED WRITERS and researchers for 41-year-old tax-exempt educational organization. Conservative, dealing in issues facing U.S. internal and external security matters. Write to NR Box 3113, stating qualifications and salary range.

Situations Wanted

POLICE DETECTIVE SGT. SUPERVISOR, Connecticut, desires position as security, courier, chauffeur. Trained in security, voice analyzer truth verification. Will travel as needed. Write NR Box 3127.

Literary

WANTED TO BUY: 4-volume set Sorokin's Social and Cultural Dynamics. Good price. Write NR Box 3126.

THE UNFRIENDLY SKIES—an Aviation Watergate. The documented untold scandal behind some of the nation's worst airline crashes. $7.70 postpaid. Diablo Western Press, Box 766, Alamo, Calif. 94507.

THE PEOPLE'S GUIDE to Campaign Politics, by Gary Robert Schwedes. Definitive work on local compaign techniques. Nominated in Washington Monthly for Political Book of the Year. Send $3.30 to: Schwedes Campaign Consultants, 1725 The Promenade #304-A, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401.

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors. Publicity, advertising, beautiful books. All subjects invited. Send for fact-filled booklet and free manuscript report. Carlton Press, Dept. NRH, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

BOOK SEARCHING. ALL SUBJECTS. Large Stock: lists on request. Regent House, 108 N. Roselake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90026.

NOTE: Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address: Classified Department, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. Rates per insertion: 65¢ per word, minimum 10 words, plus $1.50 for box number. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 25 days before publication date.

Vacation

SAN FRANCISCO ON A BUDGET. Beresford Hotel, 635 Sutter Street, 94102; Charming, Convenient, Comfortable.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be *another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the* right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

ATTRACTIVE FEMALE ECTOMORPH seeks successful male counterpart appreciating nature, pets, collectibles. Autobiography requested. Write NR Box 3125.

SINGLE MALE, 33, Jewish, Detroit area. Enjoys music, reading, traveling. Wishes to meet compatible young woman. Write NR Box 3124.

CONSERVATIVE PENSIONER (also has small job) 37. Walks with cane, non-smoker, country intellectual, loves good wine. Would like to correspond with lonely single girl of Buddhist, Shinto, Jewish, or Unitarian religion. Write NR Box 3121.

LONELY? Make new friends. Write NR2 Pen Pals, Box 415, Kansas City, Mo. 64141.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets cultured, single, widowed or divorced persons acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write Box AE, Swarthmore, Pa. 19081.

Real Estate

BERGEN COUNTY, N.J.—Build That Dream House Now. Lovely high, woodsy, tranquil, acre sites available in delightful Franklin Lakes. Excellent schools, low taxes, wide range of sporting and cerebral activities. Easy Manhattan commute. Your plans or ours. Starting at $185,000. Call Moira Cella, Panella Real Estate, Franklin Lakes. 201-891-7711.

MUST SELL! Price reduced on lovely Colorado cattle and recreation ranch. 4,440 deeded acres, San Luis Valley. Elevation 8,500 feet. Magnificent view San Juan and Sangre De Cristo Mountains. Running creek for 5 miles. Numerous live springs. Elk and deer. National forest on three sides. Three modern homes, barns, sheds, corrals. Price: $675,000. Good terms. Exclusive agent: Burghart & Burghart, Realtors, 506 Exchange National Bank Building, Colorado Springs, Colo. 80903. Phone: 303-634-8882.

For Sale

ETCHINGS—signed, numbered, limited edition etchings. Traditional approach. For catalogue contact Robert McCormack, 4456 Mill Run Road, Dallas, Tex. 75234.

GOLD BULLION AND COINS. No sales tax. Cheshire National Bank, 15 Main Street, Keene, N.H., 03431. 603-352-5050 (Member FDIC).

RECORDS—TAPES! Discounts to 73%; all labels; no purchase obligations; newsletter; discount dividend certificates; 100% guarantees. Free details. Discount Music Club, 650 Main Street, Dept. 36-0878, New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801.

Miscellaneous

DATE REMINDER SERVICE. Your important birthdays, anniversaries and special occasions will not be forgotten anymore. Free information. Reminder-Aid, Dept. E, 1403 S. 14th Street, Escanaba, Mich. 49829.

DISCOUNT BROKER GUIDE—Comparative guide to discount broker services, includes minimum charges, rates, toll-free numbers, more. Send $4.00 to ENW, P.O. Box 6311, Columbus, Ga. 31907.

FANTASTIC VIENNESE TORTE. Easy, foolproof recipe. Send $2.00 S.A.S.E. to: Recipes, P.O. Box 12691, Dallas, Tex. 75225.

GRAPHOANALYSIS: Send one page of handwriting along with $5.00 and your name and address to: Wanda Waldraven, 2728 Magnolia, Wichita, Kan. 67217.

BECOME A SPEED READER in two nights! Unique home-study program builds on your natural reading habits. 10-day return privilege. Send $4.95 to Hillcrest Reading Center, Box 21169, Cleveland, Ohio 44121.

GIN CHICKEN. Original recipe, unusual taste treat. Send $2.00 S.A.S.E. to: Recipes, P.O. Box 12691, Dallas, Tex. 75225.

HOW TO TAPE RECORD your grandfather for posterity. Complete detailed instructions from experienced interviewer with sample interview. $3.00 postpaid. ORAL HISTORY, P.O. Box 2174, Winter Park, Fla. 32789.

LET YOUR VIEWS be seen! Bumperstickers can say anything. $1.50. Save! 5 for $6.00. Discover easy advertising. Bumper Art, Dept. N, Box 404, New Hampton, N.Y. 10958. For quantity orders call 914-692-4668.

COLLEGE DEGREES BY MAIL. Bachelors, masters, doctorates. Legal, inexpensive, fast. Free details. Dr. John Bear, 2150 Franklin Street, Dept. 62208, Oakland, Calif. 94612.

BLANK CARDBOARD RECORD replacement jackets, 35¢. Plastic-lined inside sleeves, 15¢. Opera boxes, vinyl protectors, 78 RPM sleeves, etc. Postage $1.25. CABCO, NR 78, Box 8212, Columbus, Ohio 43201.

DISCOUNT WALLCOVERINGS—Liberal Savings for Conservative Shoppers. Strahan, Schumacher, Walltex, Sanitas. Any brand. Paper, vinyl, silks, designer handprints, fabrics. Call with pattern number, rollage. Toll free: 800-245-1768. American Discount Wallcoverings.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

RAYMOND ENGLISH:

Back to Basics:
[A Chance for Educational Reform]

Abigail Van Buren provided first-hand evidence of our deteriorating education. Out of the average ten thousand letters she receives each week those written by persons under thirty are regularly far more inarticulate, illiterate, and ungrammatical than those from the older generation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Continued from page 961)

derstanding of this term, that it is not only freedom of conscience for believers but for non-believers as well. We must work to show that science, humanism, and Communist morality are not incompatible with our Church doctrine. . . . Those people [like the dissidents] are examples of un-Christian people. They talk of rights but they mean only anarchy and misery for all the Soviet peoples."

For us, the picture was now clear. The Soviet Party apparatus has succeeded in separating the body of the Church from its future sustenance, the young. It does this with the help of the Exarch and other state-approved clerics. They speak for the new Russia while pretending to speak for the old one. Lenin is everywhere; he is even inside the robes of those who are at the head of the Russian Orthodox Church. In Kiev, in Moscow, everywhere.

And yet there is a skepticism about this which only shows itself during private discussions with the young. Talk with them and you discover the incontrovertible fact that there is always a light—sometimes perhaps merely a narrow ray—which illuminates even the darkest regions of the Communist state. There are even those among the high-ranking, officially recognized Soviet clergy who bear no doctrinal resemblance to the Exarch.

One bishop comes to mind. He was to address an audience of the uninitiated, meeting in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. As if to warn his innocent audience, he began his speech: "Never believe everything that anyone tells you whom you have not known for a very long time. Whether it is a distant relative, or even a priest. Never believe them, unless you have dearly known them. Never, ever."

Winking to the audience, he then proceeded with a speech in high praise of the Communist Party and all it has done and will continue to do to make life happy and wonderful for the God-fearing within the USSR. The Communist functionaries in the room were visibly pleased by the content of the speech, oblivious to any connection with or significance given to the opening words of skepticism. Yes, always a light—sometimes merely a narrow ray. Even in Kiev. □

World War II's Covert Scientific Contest Between Britain and Germany...

The Secret War

BRIAN JOHNSON

On November 5, 1939 an unseen messenger left a parcel on the window ledge of the British Consulate in Oslo containing a small electronic device and several pages of German typescript. The device was an early proximity fuse for an anti-aircraft shell, and the typescript set out the scope of German military scientific research. The document was signed, "A German scientist who wishes you well." His identity has never been established.

A story of intrigue and espionage, Johnson's book is an expanded, fully-illustrated version of the six BBC television programs tracing the moves and counter-moves between British and German scientists in the fascinating secret war — bombing beams, radar, the V1 and V2, the Ultra Secret — and many others never disclosed until now.

"Unlike many books derived from other media, this one stands up as a readable and exceptionally well illustrated popular account." — Library Journal

$15.95 cloth, at your bookseller or

Methuen

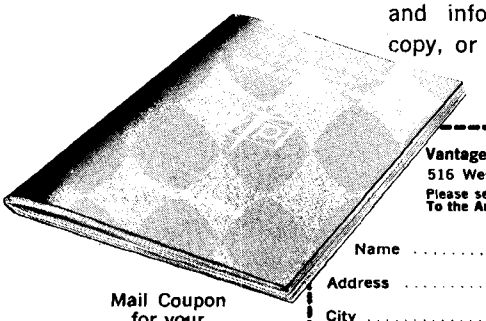
777 Third Avenue, New York 10017

To the author in search of a publisher

YOU ARE INVITED to send for a free, illustrated brochure which explains how your book (or your organization's) can be published, promoted and marketed.

Whether your subject is fiction, non-fiction or poetry, scientific, scholarly, specialized (even controversial) this handsome 52-page brochure will show you how to arrange for prompt publication.

Unpublished authors, especially, will find this booklet valuable and informative. For your free copy, or more information, fill in and mail the coupon.



Mail Coupon for your Free Copy

Vantage Press, Inc. Dept. AO-1
516 West 34th St., New York, N.Y. 10001
Please send me a complimentary copy of To the Author in Search of a Publisher.

Name .....
Address .....
City ..... State ..... Zip .....

Offices in Washington, D.C. and Hollywood, Calif.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Beyond the Hiss Case

On The Right

New York, July 14—Although Allen Weinstein's best-seller, *Prejury: The Hiss-Chambers Case*, has convinced everyone who is not a member of the Flat Earth Society that Alger Hiss was guilty as charged in what has been called the most important political trial of the century, an interesting pattern emerges in the reviewers' fascinated attention. Most pronouncedly it shines through the review by Richard Rovere, *The New Yorker*'s Washington correspondent for lo these many years. It is a view of Chambers that divulges the depths of the philistinism of the cultural Left in America. Whittaker Chambers, writes Rovere, was "a confessed spy and perjurer, a thief in his youth, a tormented homosexual, frowsy in appearance and all but friendless, as obsessed by his anti-Communism as he had been as an evangel of revolution . . . a certifiable neurotic."

Let us pause for a little historical rectification. The perjury of Whittaker Chambers consisted of the simple act of having denied that he knew of Hiss's involvement in espionage, a falsehood as easily explained as Chambers' entirely plausible subsequent contention that he did not seek to incriminate his old colleague-in-espionage, merely to immobilize him and to alert the Republic to the activities of American friends of tyranny. His "thievery" in his youth consisted in husbanding, against the rules, a few books from the library of Columbia University. If that made him a thief, so is one-half the population of Yale University.

It is astounding that Rovere should have discovered that Chambers was a tormented homosexual inasmuch as the termination of his homosexual activity coincided with his departure from the Communist Party in 1938, whereafter he lived the life of an exemplary husband and father. His closest friends (I was one of them) were totally surprised by the revelation, two years ago, that he had ever been bisexual in his youth, this inclination never having been apparent in him; the charge never having been leveled against him by anyone who knew him, however intimately, at *Time* magazine, where he worked for ten years. Frowsy in appearance? How strange to think to make the point. Chambers was plump, like the philosopher Will Herberg. He came to work in an unobtrusive suit, wearing a white shirt, and tie, cleanshaven. Was Mr. Rovere expecting chimes?

What does it mean to be obsessed by anti-Communism? It is true that Chambers was obsessed by anti-Communism in the same sense that Martin Luther King was obsessed by civil rights. But is this the word one would use in evoking King? Is Teddy Kennedy to be depicted as "a cheat in his youth"? Is Eisenhower remembered, in any balanced account of him, as a "confessed perjurer" because, at first, he denied U.S. responsibility for the U-2 flight?

The egregious antipathy to Whittaker Chambers, so evident in the review by Richard Rovere, as in the work of such other liberals as Conor Cruise O'Brien and Irving Howe, raises serious questions about their reliability as critics. The contest between Whittaker Chambers and Alger Hiss was a gripping judicial Armageddon. The factual case is something that can be mastered with a few days' application and stored away in the archives of one's mind. But to deposit Chambers, as has been done in most references to him, as the man who got Hiss is on the order of remembering Ezra Pound as the man who broadcast for Mussolini. It is vulgar. It is know-nothing. It is intellectually embarrassing.

Of the prominent liberals who have had recent occasion to touch on the Hiss-Chambers business, one recalls only Wilfrid Sheed, John Kenneth Galbraith, and Murray Kempton as having had the grace and the presence to recall that Chambers was something else.

Whittaker Chambers was one of the most widely read members of his generation. He was secure in the company of writers whose names are linked with *Time* magazine, in the highest company. One thinks of James Agee, to find his equal. His genius lay in an analytical and descriptive intensity that touched even the most awful concerns with a kind of transporting lyricism. Richard Rovere has no further to go than to his colleague at *The New Yorker*, Arlene Croce, the best ballet critic in the land, to find someone of high sensibility whose life was changed upon reading Whittaker Chambers' *Witness*. Chambers' "obsession" with Communism is not hard for anyone who has truly experienced Communism to understand. Solzhenitsyn would have no trouble in evaluating Whittaker Chambers, nor Yuri Orlov. For Richard Rovere, whose own flirtation with Communism was as serious as Chambers' with thievery, Communism is somehow uninteresting; boring. Far more interesting to write about McCarthy, and McCarthyism. But to do so is to miss the main event; and the main event —the historical guilt of Hiss having become, thanks to Weinstein, a redundancy —is the political and literary art of Whittaker Chambers.

Some day this will be discovered, but it is a pity that when that is done it will require great excavations down through the detritus of such as Richard Rovere. □

UNDERSTANDING CARTER

London, July 2 —The ongoing attempt to Understand Jimmy Carter continues, but one has the feeling that it is done mostly out of a sense of professional obligation. Richard Nixon emerges from nowhere and makes a trip to nowhere and suddenly all the lights in the city room go on again, and there is feverish activity, and even Nixon's undertakers, in their hearts, lust after the old days. Nobody knows what to say about Carter, and he is not very good at explaining himself. It is conceded about him that he is intelligent, self-disciplined, permissive, accessible, articulate, patriotic, religious, and, on the whole, incompetent. But having said this, one is obliged to answer the question—and this is more difficult—what is a competent President supposed to do?

Carter is very confusing, but that is the intellectual lifestyle of the successful politician, like Roosevelt promising to keep America out of war, Nixon promising to conclude honorably the Vietnam War, Eisenhower warning against the military-industrial complex, while his successor bemoans the missile gap. Carter is the first President who appears willing to intellectualize his contradictions.

For instance, last week he told *Time*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

magazine that the key to understanding him is that he desires to include the public in the decision-making process. Does that illuminate matters?

The President's only major victory after 18 months in office was the Panama Canal Treaty. But he won that one not by convincing the public, but by promising personally to go and fix the leaky faucets of about 12 critical senators, any time, day or night, just call him. Well then, did he permit the public to look in on the decision-making process over the Panama Canal? The answer is no, he did not. The public's opposition to the Canal treaties was largely the result of its *not* having been kept apprised of how many points our representatives were scoring in their meetings with Panama's negotiators.

Carter goes on: he stays especially close to congressmen, because these are the people who are themselves close to the American people. Compared to his predecessors, he says, he is practically a member of Congress. Which, if we understand his reasoning, means that the people, through Congress, and in turn the President, reach decisions together? But somehow, it ends up meaning exactly the opposite. We have a Democratic Congress about to pass legislation on major issues the President opposes. What will he do? "I think this year," he explains, "is going to see a good many disputes resolved only through the veto process." Oh? We used to call that *force majeure*, but Carter calls it letting the public participate in the decision-making process, and that is confusing.

WHAT OTHER accomplishments, besides Panama? Not inflation, that's going very badly. No energy bill. No SALT treaty. Ah. "We have strengthened our ties with the Arab moderates." That's true, though the Arab moderates changed their world image as a result of a single airplane trip undertaken by Sadat to Jerusalem last fall, and this wasn't Carter's doing. The Arab states are understandably concerned by the progressive encirclement of the Persian Gulf by Soviet clients, and this makes the Arabs more dependent militarily on the United States, which, however, is responsible in the first instance for letting the Soviet Union make the headway that menaces the Arab states that causes them to try to qualify for the good offices of the United States. That's *one* way to bring about moderation.

Carter, however, gets specific: "There were [i.e., pre-Carter] some elements of a potential peace settlement that had never been publicly debated: Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories," for instance. But in fact these were debated beginning about 24 hours after the 1967 war, and by the end of that year, the United Nations Security Council unanimously backed the Jarring Resolution calling on Israel to return the conquered territories. Israel said it wouldn't, but for ten years the territories in question were kept pretty well detachable in the event peace terms were agreed upon. *Since* Carter, the debate has continued on the matter of the territories, the difference being that Israel's government has settled parts of these territories, making it more difficult to pursue fruitful negotiations.

Human rights? Helsinki has proved to be the Munich of our human rights policy.

What have the people done in recognition of Mr. Carter's qualities as President? They have given him a negative vote of confidence unmatched in the history of U.S. polls for an 18-month-old President. □

BETTER LEAVE WASHINGTON ALONE

Washington, June 14 —One expects, in Washington, a certain lassitude, the expression of the bureaucratic spirit, and one comes on it quickly. Even as—the pollsters tell us—throughout the land a universal suspicion of Washington increases, it becomes increasingly difficult merely to get there, as if the transportational facilities of the nation shrugged off the responsibility for carting victims to the Aztec sacrificial stone. Years ago, in the sleepy days of FDR when there were only a couple of million people in Washington engaged in telling us all what to do, you could board a train at New York any time after 10 P.M., and it would ease out of Pennsylvania Station some time after midnight, well after you were sound asleep in your little roomette, arriving comfortably at 7 A.M. Now there is Amtrak, and the people on Amtrak are the kindest and most attentive in the world. The only trouble is that Amtrak is hardly ever on time; the parlor cars suited to one's workload are regularly and arbitrarily removed, indeed full trains are routinely canceled; the railbed must have been laid down back when Abe Lincoln was rail-splitting. And when you arrive, your chances of finding a porter are about 50 per cent.

The other way to go to Washington is via Eastern's shuttle. This is to be avoided at all costs, but given the infrequency of alternative possibilities aboard American Airlines, all costs include the cost of not going to Washington when you want to go. The people at Eastern are also nice, and they have a lot to be nice to account for, inasmuch as the airplane is probably the most uncomfortable in regular service in the United States. Six passengers abreast, hip-room designed for John Travolta, no coffee, no booze, seats that don't recline. However, in due course you arrive, as I did last Sunday carrying one large suitcase, three briefcases, and one typewriter, which debouched into a baggage room with no (0) porters.

What to do? Needless to say, there were no passenger trolleys lying about—that will only happen when the Passenger Trolley Act is passed, at which point a scarcity will develop. But I detected a porter's professional trolley, wheeled it out of hiding, explored its secrets, and went off, devoting a full 15 minutes, with my trolley, to promenading about the bowels of (NO ADMITTANCE! EMPLOYEES ONLY!) National Airport, trying to trace the succession of ramps that led to the taxi staging area, where eventually I arrived. It is not clear to me how someone would have handled the problem who was not a) in Olympic trim; or b) Auntie Mame.

In due course, as befalls all virtuous men, my time came to leave Washington, and with great wit I out-foxed the Eastern shuttle, booking a flight on American Airlines at 3:05. I arrived, to be advised that the airplane would leave at 3:55. No explanation. But I knew, I knew. "How *did* you know, grandmother? Because you know *everything*?" "No, dear, because I had read the *Washington Star*'s account the day before of the troubles at the airport." What was in operation was—a "slowdown." A slowdown is the device by which disgruntled employees disrupt an operation by interpreting strictly every regulation issued.

What happened was that the people who man the control tower at Washington had been told that the next time they flew to Europe they would have to pay something for their passage instead of getting it free, poor darlings. Accordingly, they expressed their petulance by causing 25,000 or so travelers, who had contributed nothing to the decision of the offending airlines, to spend three hours traveling from Washington to New York. A distinguished old gentleman, seated beside me, was greatly indignant. His plans had suffered the domino effect. Why wasn't the action of the employees a civil offense? How is it that a small group of Americans can with impunity affect the lives of a large number of other, innocent, Americans?

I attempted to console him. You must try to understand, I said. Washington is *designed* to afflict innocent people. Whence the inertial impulse of the great carriers to bring you here.

"Why are they so reluctant to take you out of here?" he asked. I was about to reply: "To punish you for having come," but I didn't feel like wisecracking. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. Possession of this will cause talk
125 173 61 52 131 137 189 161 175 213
226 74 77 141 152 178 187

B. The leader
94 32 100 123 169 177 9 198 48 184

C. People who steal certain fowls
114 186 81 148 215 3 154 158 139 225
26 54 30 63

D. By the way
119 222 212 50 67 206 90

E. An Italian painter (1483-1520)
132 99 84 16 103 68 144

F. The kind of orator "the Little Giant" was
153 156 7 23 43 83 120 34 194 130
136 160

G. Pertaining to drama produced away from the main drag in New York City
155 143 164 122 182 151 199 210 109 4
197

H. Unscramble TAUNT HARPO
174 36 106 121 191 179 127 56 163 176

I. A city east of Naples
8 17 37 86

J. Where Holmes perceived Watson had been
183 207 218 110 223 51 124 126 1 24
142

K. Mental activity
204 92 69 145 31 98 28

L. The pokeweed
208 147 25 193 95 200 171 40

M. A participant in a debate
41 70 202 45 224 149 217 181

N. Cloudlike
33 72 195 107 18 6 203 172

O. Concerning
12 79 192 59 75

P. A Giant and Dodger first baseman during the thirties
47 85 118 101 55 93

Q. A pompous ass
62 138 133 11 42 146 201 228 2 53
89 91

R. The offspring of a quadroon and a white
64 162 19 10 35 76 115 227

S. Where the roosters fight
82 168 219 87 190 216 39

T. Furnished tools
105 5 46 80 88 116 128 209 159 170
211

U. A well-paid performer in certain games
157 58 20 166 96 205 108

V. Exhausted
167 113 140 14 29 44 135

W. If your outgo exceeds this, your upkeep will be your downfall
188 214 49 220 65 117

X. One of the American railway systems
27 15 78 22 102 66 97 180

Y. What the songwriter found in the five-and-ten cent store
221 38 57 71 73 111 134 150 165 196
13 21 60 104 129 112 185

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 976 for Solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

				1 J	2 Q	3 C		4 G	5 T	6 N	7 F	8 I	9 B		10 R	11 Q		12 O	13 Y
14 V	15 X	16 E	17 I	18 N		19 R	20 U	21 Y	22 X		23 F	24 J	25 L	26 C	27 X		28 K	29 V	30 C
	31 K	32 B	33 N	34 F	35 R	36 H	37 I	38 Y	39 S	40 L		41 M	42 Q		43 F	44 V	45 M	46 T	47 P
48 B		49 W	50 D	51 J	52 A	53 Q	54 C	55 P	56 H	57 Y		58 U	59 O	60 Y	61 A	62 Q		63 C	64 R
65 W	66 X		67 D	68 E	69 K	70 M	71 Y	72 N		73 Y	74 A	75 O	76 R		77 A	78 X	79 O	80 T	81 C
82 S		83 F	84 E	85 P	86 I	87 S	88 T	89 Q	90 D		91 Q	92 K	93 P		94 B	95 L	96 U	97 X	
98 K	99 E	100B	101P		102X	103E	104Y	105T	106H	107N	108U		109G	110J	111Y		112Y	113V	114C
115R	116T	117W	118P		119D		120F	121H	122G	123B	124J	125A		126J	127H	128T	129Y	130F	131A
132E		133Q	134Y	135V	136F	137A		138Q	139C	140V		141A	142J	143G	144E	145K	146Q	147L	148C
149M		150Y	151G	152A	153F		154C	155G	156F		157U	158C	159T	160F	161A	162R	163H		164G
165Y	166U	167V	168S	169B	170T	171L	172N		173A	174H		175A	176H	177B		178A	179H	180X	181M
182G	183J	184B	185Y		186C	187A		188W	189A		190S	191H	192O	193L	194F	195N	196Y	197G	
198B	199G	200L	201Q		202M	203N	204K		205U	206D		207J	208L	209T	210G		211T	212D	213A
214W	215C	216S	217M	218J		219S	220W	221Y	222D	223J	224M	225C	226A	227R	228Q				

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ADVERTISEMENT

ADVERTISEMENT

INVESTMENT QUALITY DIAMONDS VS. GOLD AND THE DOW JONES.

By John Campbell, *Freelance writer.*

I happen to believe that the best buy in "blue chips" this year is not on Wall St.

It's in diamonds.

The price of high quality — cut and polished—diamonds has risen over 700% in the last ten years! (And if you'd like to see just how well diamonds have fared over the last 150 years, be sure to study the chart below).

More stable than gold, silver, stocks or any government currency.

This is because the stability of diamond prices is maintained by the world's largest private monopoly, **the** Diamond Syndicate. (Incidentally, even the Russians market their diamond exports through this syndicate). The policy of this Cartel has always been to maintain the price of diamonds well above the current inflation rate of the U.S. dollar; a policy that has worked effectively for over 35 years without one single significant decrease in world diamond values.

100% Stability Makes Diamonds The Ideal Collateral

Because banks and other lending institutions respect the stability of diamond values, they have continuously granted low interest loans often equal to the full replacement value of your diamonds. Also, you will find that more and more shrewd financial planners are including diamonds in the recommendations they make to their clients as part of a balanced portfolio designed to protect against the damaging effects of inflation. In a carefully balanced investment plan—which until very recently would have included only high grade bonds, federal government obligations and gold or silver—diamonds have now come into their own in a big way.

Americans are finding out what Europeans have known for years that diamonds are always a good investment that gets even better as the economic climate becomes more and more uncertain.

Highly Liquid. Highly Portable. All around the world, diamonds are actually traded as hard currency.

Diamonds are in fact the world's most compact form of wealth: The one commodity that's not only more stable than currency, it's even more portable. In World War Two, for example, many refugees from Hitler's Europe were able to escape to Switzerland and other safe havens and remain well-off or even rich only because they could carry a fortune with them in the form of a handful of diamonds. The hardest and most brilliant substance ever created by nature, a diamond is also a beautiful bartering tool that has never been, and never will be, devalued by government decree. It has proven itself for centuries to be far more reliable in good times and bad than any other commodity in history; and certainly far superior to anything merely written on paper in the form of money or stock and bond certificates.

Diamonds are an endangered species.

Diamonds are among the world's great natural resources that are being depleted at an alarming rate. Like natural gas and oil, when the earth runs out of diamonds there will be no more.

Africa is the prime source of diamonds for the entire free world; and political instability in Africa has the potential to escalate diamond prices in the same way that oil prices have responded to the tensions in the Middle East.

How, and where, to buy your diamonds for investment.

First of all, never go to a jewelry store to buy diamonds if you're buying for investment. The reason is that jewelers are in the business of selling jewelry, or adornment, rather than investment. And by the time the actual diamonds have traveled from the cutter to the jeweler's, a whole army of middlemen (importers, jobbers, wholesalers, jewelry manufacturers, etc.) have horned in and each added his substantial markup to the goods. The second rule is equally simple. Never buy mounted diamonds for investment. For two reasons. First, why pay a premium for a fancy setting that won't greatly appreciate in value? And even more important, it's much easier to judge the true quality of a diamond if it is not mounted. Since the mounting often conceals a multitude of flaws and imperfections.

Therefore, buy only loose diamonds. And make sure they conform to the highest quality standards of the G.I.A. Gemological Institute Of America; an impartial non-profit organization that is the only fully respected arbiter of diamond quality in this country. (And beware of all quality rating standards that come from organizations outside the United States).

Most important of all: To insure the highest possible quality for the lowest possible price, you should buy at even below discount prices. Direct from the cutter!

Until now, however, this would have been virtually impossible for the ordinary investor. That army of middlemen between the diamond cutter and you the buyer is almost as tight a monopoly as the diamond mining syndicate itself. No one individual investor could possibly break through the monopoly of middlemen. But at last I'm happy to be able to report to you, the single investor, that there is a way you can actually buy direct from some of the world's most respected diamond cutters; over 20,000 other individual diamond buyers have already done it. They've become members of a unique organization called The Diamond Collectors Guild Of America. It's headquartered in New York City (the diamond cutting capitol of the U.S.).

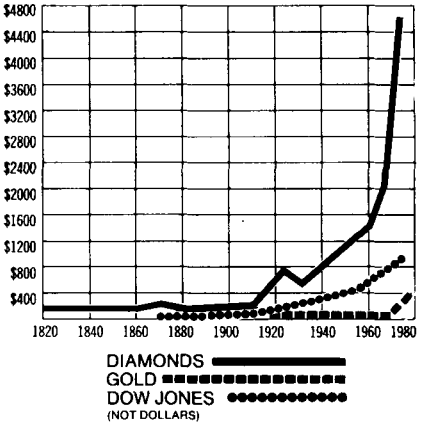
Last Year A Group Of New York's Finest Diamond Cutters Signed A Contract With The Diamond Collectors Guild Of America.

This is truly great news for anyone interested in investing in diamonds. Because it means that now, for the first time in history, you the individual diamond investor have an opportunity to invest in the finest grades of cut-and-polished diamonds direct from the cutter at a below-discount price — in fact from 25% to 50% less than is generally available to private investors. And the Guild stands behind that promise with a full money-back guarantee in writing. Furthermore, every one of these diamonds comes with a certificate of authenticity signed by one of America's top registered Gemologists, attesting to the specific qualities of the stone (exact carat weight, color, cut, clarity, etc.) and rating it according to the highest standards of the G.I.A. (Gemological Institute Of America).

The Guild also supplies you with a laser gemprint (a foolproof method of "fingerprinting" each diamond) to help you safeguard your investment.

If you should need it, the Guild even maintains a two-way market assistance program to help you liquidate the investment-quality diamonds you purchase from them, if and when you decide to sell. Every diamond they offer is of fine white quality or better. And they offer just about every carat size from 1/5 carat to 4 carats (and even larger). None fall into the imperfect range on the G.I.A. scale. And they can offer you various steps of investment-quality stones right up to the finest G.I.A. grades of flawless available anywhere in the world.

150 YEARS OF MEDIAN RETAIL PRICES FOR FINE QUALITY ONE CARAT DIAMONDS COMPARED WITH AVAILABLE GOLD PRICES AND THE DOW-JONES INDEX



For those who are serious about diamond investing, the Guild has prepared a magnificent easy to read four color portfolio which explains the subject of diamond investment (including the Guild's unique expertise) in brilliant detail. For your free copy of their portfolio, write: J. F. Fitzgerald, President, Diamond Collectors Guild Of America. 521 Fifth Ave., Dept. NR4 N.Y., N.Y. 10017. And be sure to include your name, address, zip code, telephone number (and when you can best be reached). Or call toll free: (800) 221-4702. You'll find the Guild people extremely knowledgeable and polite, and they are trained to never make you feel obligated in any way.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How to put a room in the right light for 40% less energy—at only 1.84 watts/ft^2

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Responding to a need to conserve energy while maintaining effective illumination, the Armstrong C-60 Ceiling System delivers handsomely. It provides lighting of a quality superior to that of a widely accepted 4-lamp 2′ x 4′ troffer installation but uses 40% less energy year after year.

The performance comparison shown below is keyed to the growing recognition that the classical footcandle is an incomplete measure of lighting effectiveness. In practical office situations, light rays strike the work surface from many angles. At any given point, some fixtures are providing high-quality illumination without glare. But other fixtures are projecting light at bad angles, producing "veiling reflections" that hinder the visual task instead of aiding it.

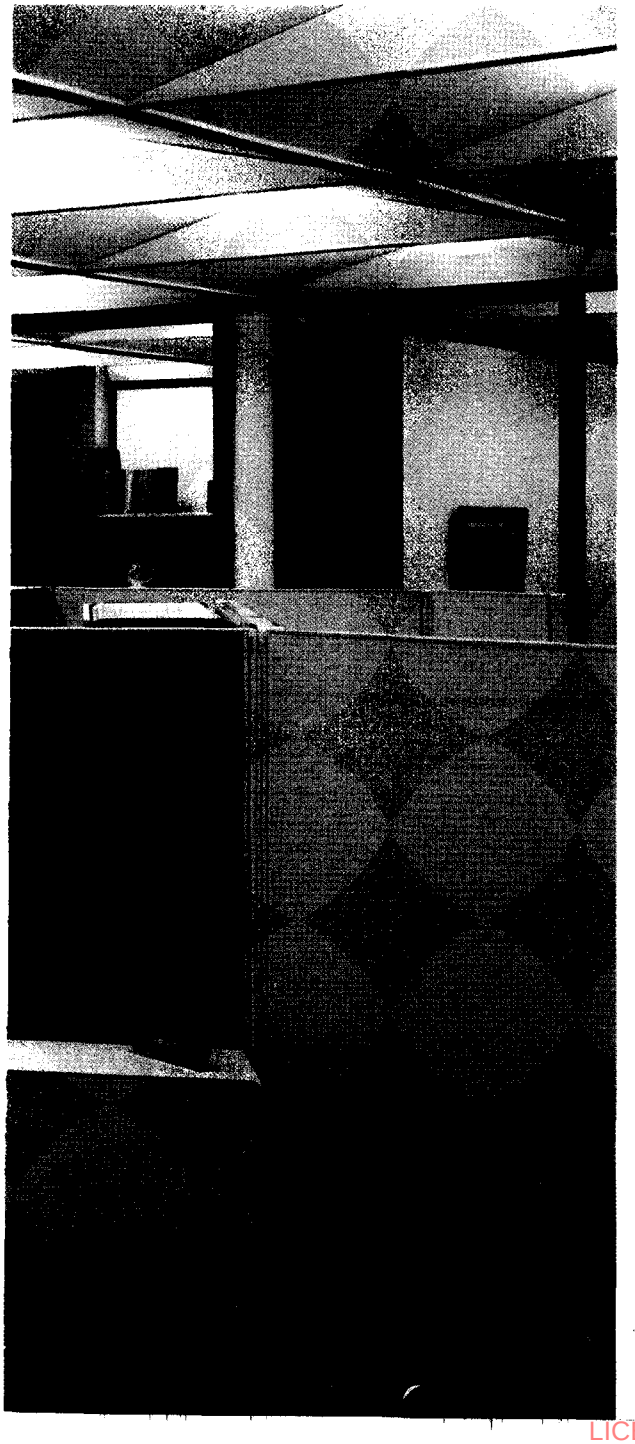
Classical footcandles measure only the amount of light reaching a point without attempting to identify how much of it is really useful. But there is a more sophisticated measure of lighting efficiency that does. Called Equivalent Sphere Illumination (ESI), it determines the *quality* as well as the quantity of light being supplied. It far more precisely measures how well the viewer can see what he is doing in every square foot of a specific room for a specific type of visual task.

With just one lamp per five-foot-square coffered module, the Armstrong C-60 assembly provides ESI levels greater than the conventional 4-lamp troffer arrangement but uses far less wattage.

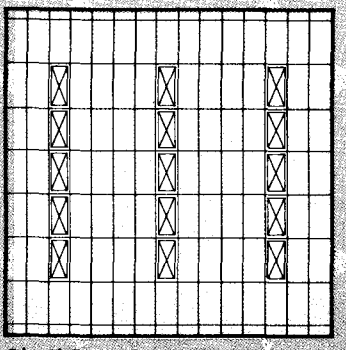
A brief comparison of the two systems is shown in the table below. That data is part of our informative new "Light Wars" show. "Light Wars" is a highly entertaining 30-minute program that includes a filmed explanation of ESI and documents how the C-60 System, in a 100,000-square-foot installation, can save as much as $29,000 per year at today's energy costs. To see "Light Wars," or receive a free booklet on ESI and the C-60 Ceiling System, mail the coupon below.

FROM THE INDOOR WORLD® OF

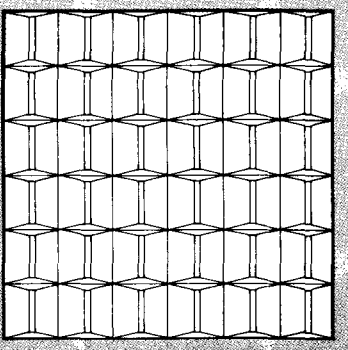
Armstrong



Systems Performance Comparison*



2′x4′ Recessed Troffer



Armstrong C-60 Luminaire

Prismatic	Fixture lens	Prismatic
4	lamps/fixture	1
15	no. of fixtures	36
	classical footcandles	
127	initial	90
95	maintained	70
40	ESI level	44
3.07	watts/sq. ft.	1.84

*30′x30′x9′ room; task—ESI pencil. All test data was supplied by independent laboratories; complete information available on request.

Armstrong
Dept. 86NNR
Lancaster, PA 17604

____Yes, I would like to see your 30-minute "Light Wars" presentation. Please call for an appointment. Phone:_____

____Yes, I would like a free copy of your booklet on ESI and the C-60 Ceiling System.

Name_____

Title_____

Firm_____

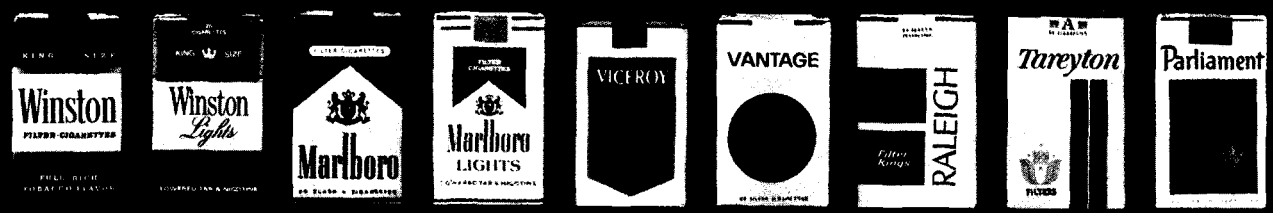
Street_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

© Lorillard, U.S.A., 1978

Why smoke this much tar...



20 MG. TAR 1.3 MG. NIC.
13 MG. TAR 0.9 MG. NIC.
17 MG. TAR 1.0 MG. NIC.
12 MG. TAR 0.8 MG. NIC.
16 MG. TAR 1.1 MG. NIC.
11 MG. TAR 0.8 MG. NIC.
16 MG. TAR 1.0 MG. NIC.
17 MG. TAR 1.2 MG. NIC.
9 MG. TAR 0.6 MG. NIC.

when you can get good taste at only 8 mg. tar?

As low in tar as you can get and still get good taste.

Source of all 'tar' and nicotine disclosures in this ad is either FTC Report May 1978 or FTC Method. **Of All Brands Sold:** Lowest tar: 0.5 mg. 'tar,' 0.05 mg. nicotine; **Kent Golden Lights; Kings Regular**—8 mg. 'tar,' 0.7 mg. nicotine; **Kings Menthol**—9 mg. 'tar,' 0.7 mg. nicotine; **100's Regular and Menthol**—9 mg. 'tar,' 0.8 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report May 1978.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED